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FAMILIAR LETTERS

AND

MISCELLANEOUS PIECES,

BY

DR. FRANKLIN.

2869
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27

A
COLLECTION
OF THE
FAMILIAR LETTERS
AND
MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS
OF
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN;

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME PUBLISHED.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY CHARLES BOWEN.
1833.

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P.

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P R E F A C E .

THE Letters and Miscellaneous Papers, contained in this volume, and now for the first time published, have come into my hands from various sources, while prosecuting researches for other objects. They are in every respect so honorable to the character of their author, that I have thought a publication of them would be at the same time a just tribute to his memory, and an acceptable offering to all classes of readers, that are fond of tracing the progress of genius, and of becoming acquainted with the heart and affections of a man, who, as a philosopher, statesman, and economist, placed himself in the first rank of the illustrious persons of the age in which he lived.

These Letters are almost all strictly of a private and domestic nature, and must have

been written without the remotest thought, on the part of their author, that they would ever be made public. On this account they are to be regarded as the genuine effusions of his mind and heart, expressing alike the native warmth of his feelings, and the sincerity of his attachments. We have here the records of a correspondence with different persons for nearly half a century, and we perceive from beginning to end a lively and continued interest in his early friendships, undiminished by time, unaltered by circumstances. Nor will it be easy to find, in any letters of the like description, stronger evidences of kindness, sympathy, and all the traits of a truly amiable character and affectionate temper. The style of composition, also, is every where marked with the same unstudied simplicity and felicitous manner, which communicate so winning a charm to Dr. Franklin's other writings. To make the collection more complete in its kind, a few letters have been selected from those heretofore printed, which treat of domestic and familiar topics.

The Miscellaneous Pieces, which form the second part of the volume, are of another

cast, but not less valuable as indicating in pointed language the political opinions of Franklin at an important crisis, and as affording triumphant proofs of his patriotism at a time, when it has suited the purpose of his enemies to represent him as having been a wavering friend, if not a secret foe, to the cause of his country.

Few eminent men have been so unfortunate, in respect to the publication of their writings, as Franklin. No edition of his works, nor of any part of them except his early philosophical essays, was ever prepared by himself, or published under his own inspection. His letters and papers made their appearance from time to time, either as forced out by the interested motives of booksellers, or the importunity of friends. The papers left by him to his grandson were kept back from the public for more than twenty years after the author's death, and were at last compiled with little ability in the execution, or justice to the subject. It is moreover to be remembered, with extreme regret, that Franklin's letter-books, embracing the entire period of his agency in Eng-

land, throughout a space of almost twenty years, as well as other original papers, were lost by the negligence or treachery of the person, to whose care he entrusted them when he went to France. A few letters to individuals, which have been collected, and short biographical memoranda of his own, relating to detached events, afford all the materials that exist for a history of his official transactions and private opinions in the compass of that eventful portion of his life.

Owing to a train of circumstances, which at one time were not well understood, but now admit of an easy and full explanation, the character of Franklin suffered in the hands of some of his later associates and contemporaries. Suspicions of his political integrity, and even of his private honesty, were scattered among the credulous, and produced impressions on the minds of many of his countrymen, which his brilliant name and great services have as yet hardly effaced. After a laborious inquiry into this matter, with no ordinary means of information and opportunities of research, particularly in

regard to his acts as Minister Plenipotentiary in France, and in negotiating the treaty of peace at the end of the war, I feel authorized to declare, that his conduct admits of unqualified vindication ; that, so far from open censure or the whispers of suspicion, he deserves the lasting praise and gratitude of his country for the manly, consistent, undeviating, honorable, and efficient course he pursued, in the face of numerous obstacles and embarrassments, during the whole nine years of his residence in France. His patriotism and fidelity to his trust were equalled only by his unrivalled talents and sagacity.

But this is not the place to discuss so wide a topic. This little volume cannot fail to present to every reader the elements of Franklin's character under a favorable aspect, which will not be changed by a closer study and a better acquaintance. Having in my possession ample means for pursuing this subject to its full extent, I look forward to some future occasion for at least attempting to execute so grateful a task.

JARED SPARKS.

Boston, 1 May, 1833.

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PART

I.

FAMILIAR LETTERS.



FAMILIAR LETTERS.

LETTER I.

TO MISS JANE FRANKLIN.

Philadelphia, 6 January, 1726-7.

DEAR SISTER,

I am highly pleased with the account Captain Freeman gives me of you. I always judged by your behaviour when a child, that you would make a good, agreeable woman, and you know you were ever my peculiar favorite. I have been thinking what would be a suitable present for me to make, and for you to receive, as I hear you are grown a celebrated beauty. I had almost determined on a tea-table; but when I considered, that the character of a good housewife was far preferable to that of being only a pretty gentlewoman, I concluded to send you a *spinning-wheel*, which I hope you will accept as a small token of my sincere love and affection.

Sister, farewell, and remember that modesty, as it makes the most homely virgin amiable and charming,

so the want of it infallibly renders the most perfect beauty disagreeable and odious. But when that brightest of female virtues shines among other perfections of body and mind in the same person, it makes the woman more lovely than an angel. Excuse this freedom, and use the same with me.

I am, dear Jenny, your loving brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER II.

TO MRS. SARAH DAVENPORT.

[Date uncertain.]

DEAR SISTER,

Your kind and affectionate letter of May 15th was extremely agreeable to me, and the more so, because I had not for two years before received a line from any relation, my father and mother only excepted. I am glad to hear your family are got well through the smallpox, and that you have your health continued to you.

I am sorry to hear of sister Mecom's loss, and should be mighty glad of a line from her, and from sister Holmes, who need be under no apprehensions of not writing polite enough to such an unpolite reader as I am. I think if politeness is necessary to make letters between brothers and sisters agreeable, there must be very little love among them.

I am not about to be married, as you have heard. At present I am much hurried in business, but hope to make a short trip to Boston in the spring.

Please to let me know how sister Douse is, and remember my kind love to her, as also to brother Peter and sister Lydia.*

Dear sister, I love you tenderly. Adieu.

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER III.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM. †

Philadelphia, 19 June, 1730.

DEAR SISTER,

Yours of May 26th I received, with the melancholy news of the death of sister Davenport, a loss, without doubt, regretted by all that knew her, for she was a good woman. Her friends ought, however, to be comforted that they have enjoyed her so long, and that she has passed through the world happily, having never had any extraordinary misfortune or notable affliction, and that she is now secure in rest, in the place provided for the virtuous. I had before heard of the death of your first child, and am pleased that

* This sister was afterwards married to Mr. Robert Scott.

† Dr. Franklin's sister Jane was married to Mr. Edward Mecom, of Boston, in July, 1727.

the loss is in some measure made up to you by the birth of a second.

We have had the smallpox here lately, which raged violently while it lasted. There have been about fifty persons inoculated, who all recovered, except a child of the doctor's, upon whom the smallpox appeared within a day or two after the operation, and who is therefore thought to have been certainly infected before. In one family in my neighbourhood there appeared a great mortality. Mr. George Claypoole (a descendant of Oliver Cromwell) had, by industry, acquired a great estate, and being in excellent business, a merchant, would probably have doubled it, had he lived according to the common course of years. He died first, suddenly; within a short time died his best negro; then one of his children; then a negro woman; then two children more, buried at the same time; then two more; so that I saw two double burials come out of the house in one week. None were left in the family, but the mother and one child, and both their lives till lately despaired of; so that all the father's wealth, which every body thought, a little while ago, had heirs enough, and no one would have given sixpence for the reversion, was in a few weeks brought to the greatest probability of being divided among strangers; so uncertain are all human affairs. The dissolution of this family is generally ascribed to an imprudent use of quicksilver in the cure of the itch, Mr. Claypoole applying it as he thought proper, without consulting a

physician for fear of charges ; and the smallpox coming upon them at the same time made their case desperate.

But what gives me the greatest concern, is the account you give me of my sister Holmes's misfortune. I know a cancer in the breast is often thought incurable ; yet we have here in town a kind of shell made of some wood, cut at a proper time, by some man of great skill, (as they say,) which has done wonders in that disease among us, being worn for some time on the breast. I am not apt to be superstitiously fond of believing such things, but the instances are so well attested, as sufficiently to convince the most incredulous.

This, if I have interest enough to procure, as I think I have, I will borrow for a time, and send it to you, and hope the doctors you have will at least allow the experiment to be tried, and shall rejoice to hear it has the accustomed effect.

You have mentioned nothing in your letter of our dear parents ; but I conclude they are well, because you say nothing to the contrary. I want to hear from sister Douse, and to know of her welfare, as also of my sister Lydia, who I hear is lately married. I intended to have visited you this summer, but printing the paper-money here has hindered me near two months, and our Assembly will sit the 2d of August next, at which time I must not be absent ; but I hope to see you this fall.

I am your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER IV.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

Philadelphia, 28 July, 1743.

DEAREST SISTER JENNY,

I took your admonition very kindly, and was far from being offended at you for it. If I say any thing about it to you, it is only to rectify some wrong opinions you seem to have entertained of me; and this I do only because they give you some uneasiness, which I am unwilling to be the occasion of. You express yourself, as if you thought I was against the worshipping of God, and doubt that good works would merit heaven; which are both fancies of your own, I think, without foundation. I am so far from thinking that God is not to be worshipped, that I have composed and wrote a whole book of devotions for my own use; and I imagine there are few if any in the world so weak as to imagine, that the little good we can do here can merit so vast a reward hereafter.

There are some things in your New England doctrine and worship, which I do not agree with; but I do not therefore condemn them, or desire to shake your belief or practice of them. We may dislike things, that are nevertheless right in themselves. I would only have you make me the same allowance, and have a better opinion both of morality and your brother. Read the pages of Mr. Edwards's late book,

entitled, "Some Thoughts concerning the present Revival of Religion in New England," from 367 to 375, and when you judge of others, if you can perceive the fruit to be good, don't terrify yourself that the tree may be evil ; but be assured it is not so, for you know who has said, "Men do not gather grapes of thorns and figs of thistles." I have not time to add, but that I shall always be your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. It was not kind in you, when your sister commended good works, to suppose she intended it a reproach to you. It was very far from her thoughts.*

* The following extract from a letter, written to a relative many years afterwards, may with propriety be added in this connexion.

"I received a letter or two from you, in which I perceive you have misunderstood and taken unkindly something I said to you in a former jocular one of mine concerning *charity*. I forget what it was exactly, but I am sure I neither expressed nor meant any personal censure on you or any body. If any thing, it was a general reflection on our sect, we zealous Presbyterians being too apt to think ourselves alone in the right, and that, besides all the Heathens, Mahometans, and Papists, whom we give to Satan in a lump, other sects of Christian Protestants, that do not agree with us, will hardly escape perdition. And I might recommend it to you to be more charitable in that respect, than many others are, not aiming at any reproof, as you term it ; for if I were disposed to reprove you, it should be for your only fault, that of supposing and spying affronts, and catching at them, where they are not. But as you seem sensible of this yourself, I need not mention it ; and as it is a fault that carries with it its own sufficient punishment, by the uneasiness and fretting it produces, I shall not add weight to it. Besides, I am sure your own good sense, joined to your natural good humor, will in time get the better of it."

LETTER V.

TO MR. AND MRS. MECOM.

Philadelphia, [date uncertain.]

DEAR BROTHER AND SISTER,

If you still continue your inclination to send Benny,* you may do it by the first vessel to New York. Write a line by him, directed to Mr. James Parker, Printer, on Hunter's Key, New York. I am confident he will be kindly used there, and I shall hear from him every week. You will advise him to be very cheerful, and ready to do every thing he is bid, and endeavour to oblige every body, for that is the true way to get friends.

Dear Sister, I love you tenderly for your care of our father in his sickness.

I am, in great haste, your loving brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER VI.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

Philadelphia, [date uncertain.]

DEAR SISTER,

I received your letter, with one for Benny, and one for Mr. Parker, and also two of Benny's letters of complaint, which, as you observe, do not amount to

* Benjamin Mecom, a nephew of Dr. Franklin, whom he seems to have taken particularly under his charge.

much. I should have had a very bad opinion of him, if he had written to you those accusations of his master, which you mention ; because, from long acquaintance with his master, who lived some years in my house, I know him to be a sober, pious, and conscientious man ; so that Newport, to whom you seem to have given too much credit, must have wronged Mr. Parker very much in his accounts, and have wronged Benny too, if he says Benny told him such things, for I am confident he never did.

As to the bad attendance afforded him in the small-pox, I believe, if the negro woman did not do her duty, her master or mistress would, if they had known it, have had that matter mended. But Mrs. Parker was herself, if I am not mistaken, sick at that time, and her child also. And though he gives the woman a bad character in general, all he charges her with in particular, is, that she never brought him what he called for directly, and sometimes not at all. He had the distemper favorably, and yet I suppose was bad enough to be, like other sick people, a little impatient, and perhaps might think a short time long, and sometimes call for things not proper for one in his condition.

As to clothes, I am frequently at New York, and I never saw him unprovided with what was good, decent, and sufficient. I was there no longer ago than March last, and he was then well clothed, and made no complaint to me of any kind. I heard both his master and mistress call upon him on Sunday morning

to get ready to go to meeting, and tell him of his frequently delaying and shuffling till it was too late, and he made not the least objection about clothes. I did not think it any thing extraordinary, that he should be sometimes willing to evade going to meeting, for I believe it is the case with all boys, or almost all. I have brought up four or five myself, and have frequently observed, that if their shoes were bad, they would say nothing of a new pair till Sunday morning, just as the bell rung, when, if you asked them why they did not get ready, the answer was prepared, "I have no shoes," and so of other things, hats and the like; or if they knew of any thing that wanted mending, it was a secret till Sunday morning, and sometimes I believe they would rather tear a little, than be without the excuse.

As to going on petty errands, no boys love it, but all must do it. As soon as they become fit for better business, they naturally get rid of that, for the master's interest comes in to their relief. I make no doubt but Mr. Parker will take another apprentice, as soon as he can meet with a likely one. In the mean time I should be glad if Benny would exercise a little patience. There is a negro woman that does a great many of those errands.

I do not think his going on board the privateer arose from any difference between him and his master, or any ill usage he had received. When boys see prizes brought in, and quantities of money shared among the

men, and their gay living, it fills their heads with notions, that half distract them, and put them quite out of conceit with trades, and the dull ways of getting money by working. This I suppose was Ben's case, the Catherine being just before arrived with three rich prizes; and that the glory of having taken a privateer of the enemy, for which both officers and men were highly extolled, treated, presented, &c. worked strongly upon his imagination, you will see, by his answer to my letter, is not unlikely. I send it to you enclosed. I wrote him largely on the occasion; and though he might possibly, to excuse that slip to others, complain of his place, you may see he says not a syllable of any such thing to me. My only son, before I permitted him to go to Albany, left my house unknown to us all, and got on board a privateer, from whence I fetched him. No one imagined it was hard usage at home, that made him do this. Every one, that knows me, thinks I am too indulgent a parent, as well as master.

I shall tire you, perhaps, with the length of this letter; but I am the more particular, in order, if possible, to satisfy your mind about your son's situation. His master has, by a letter this post, desired me to write to him about his staying out of nights, sometimes all night, and refusing to give an account where he spends his time, or in what company. This I had not heard of before, though I perceive you have. I do not wonder at his correcting him for that. If he was my own

son, I should think his master did not do his duty by him, if he omitted it, for to be sure it is the high road to destruction. And I think the correction very light, and not likely to be very effectual, if the strokes left no marks.

His master says farther, as follows ; — “ I think I can’t charge my conscience with being much short of my duty to him. I shall now desire you, if you have not done it already, to invite him to lay his complaints before you, that I may know how to remedy them.” Thus far the words of his letter, which giving me a fair opening to inquire into the affair, I shall accordingly do it, and I hope settle every thing to all your satisfactions. In the mean time, I have laid by your letters both to Mr. Parker and Benny, and shall not send them till I hear again from you, because I think your appearing to give ear to such groundless stories may give offence, and create a greater misunderstanding, and because I think what you write to Benny, about getting him discharged, may tend to unsettle his mind, and therefore improper at this time.

I have a very good opinion of Benny in the main, and have great hopes of his becoming a worthy man, his faults being only such as are commonly incident to boys of his years, and he has many good qualities, for which I love him. I never knew an apprentice contented with the clothes allowed him by his master, let them be what they would. Jemmy Franklin, when with me, was always dissatisfied and grumbling. When

I was last in Boston, his aunt bid him go to a shop and please himself, which the gentleman did, and bought a suit of clothes on my account dearer by one half, than any I ever afforded myself, one suit excepted; which I don't mention by way of complaint of Jemmy, for he and I are good friends, but only to show you the nature of boys.

The letters to Mr. Vanhorne were sent by Mr. Whitfield, under my cover.

I am, with love to brother and all yours, and duty to mother, to whom I have not time now to write, your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.


LETTER VII.

TO MRS. ABIAH FRANKLIN.

Philadelphia, 7 September, 1749.

HONORED MOTHER,

We received your kind letter by this post, and are glad you still continue to enjoy such a share of health. Cousin Josiah and his spouse arrived hearty and well last Saturday noon. I met them the evening before at Trenton, thirty miles off, and accompanied them to town. They went into their own house on Monday, and I believe will do very well, for he seems bent on industry, and she appears a discreet, notable young woman. My wife has been to see them every day,



calling in as she passes by ; and I suspect has fallen in love with our new cousin, for she entertains me a deal, when she comes home, with what cousin Sally does, and what cousin Sally says, what a good contriver she is, and the like.

I believe it might be of service to me, in the matter of getting in my debts, if I were to make a voyage to London ; but I have not yet determined on it in my own mind, and think I am grown almost too lazy to undertake it.

The Indians are gone homewards loaded with presents. In a week or two the treaty with them will be printed, and I will send you one.

My love to brother and sister Mecom, and to all inquiring friends.

I am your dutiful son,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER VIII.

TO MRS. ABIAH FRANKLIN.

Philadelphia, 16 October, 1749.

HONORED MOTHER,

This has been a busy day with your daughter, and she is gone to bed much fatigued and cannot write.

I send you enclosed one of our new Almanacs. We print them early, because we send them to many places far distant. I send you also a moidore enclosed,

which please to accept towards chaise hire, that you may ride warm to meetings this winter. Pray tell us what kind of a sickness you have had in Boston this summer. Besides the measles and flux, which have carried off many children, we have lost some grown persons, by what we call the *Yellow Fever*; though that is almost if not quite over, thanks to God, who has preserved all our family in perfect health.

Here are cousins Coleman, and two Folgers, all well. Your granddaughter is the greatest lover of her book and school, of any child I ever knew, and is very dutiful to her mistress as well as to us.

I doubt not but brother Mecom will send the collar as soon as he can conveniently. My love to him, sister, and all the children.

I am your dutiful son,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER IX.

TO MRS. ABIAH FRANKLIN.

Philadelphia, [date uncertain.]

HONORED MOTHER,

We received your kind letter of the 2d instant, by which we are glad to hear you still enjoy such a measure of health, notwithstanding your great age. We read your writing very easily. I never met

with a word in your letters but what I could easily understand, for though the hand is not always the best, the sense makes every thing plain. My leg, which you inquire after, is now quite well. I shall keep these servants; but the man not in my own house. I have hired him out to the man, that takes care of my Dutch printing-office, who agrees to keep him in victuals and clothes, and to pay me a dollar a week for his work. The wife, since that affair, behaves exceeding well; but we conclude to sell them both the first good opportunity, for we do not like negro servants. We got again about half what we lost.

As to your grandchildren, Will is now nineteen years of age, a tall proper youth, and much of a beau. He acquired a habit of idleness on the Expedition, but begins of late to apply himself to business, and I hope will become an industrious man. He imagined his father had got enough for him, but I have assured him that I intend to spend what little I have myself, if it please God that I live long enough; and as he by no means wants acuteness, he can see by my going on, that I mean to be as good as my word.

Sally grows a fine girl, and is extremely industrious with her needle, and delights in her work. She is of a most affectionate temper, and perfectly dutiful and obliging to her parents, and to all. Perhaps I flatter myself too much, but I have hopes that she will prove an ingenious, sensible, notable, and worthy woman, like her aunt Jenny. She goes now to the dancing-school.

For my own part, at present, I pass my time agreeably enough. I enjoy, through mercy, a tolerable share of health. I read a great deal, ride a little, do a little business for myself, now and then for others, retire when I can, and go into company when I please ; so the years roll round, and the last will come, when I would rather have it said, *He lived usefully*, than *He died rich*.

Cousins Josiah and Sally are well, and I believe will do well, for they are an industrious loving young couple ; but they want a little more stock to go on smoothly with their business.

My love to brother and sister Mecom, and their children, and to all my relations in general.

I am your dutiful son,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER X.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

Philadelphia, 20 September, 1750.

DEAR SISTER,

I received yours the 11th instant, with one enclosed for cousin Benny ; but he, I suppose, is in Boston with you before this time, as he left New York fifteen days since with a fair wind for Rhode Island. I do not know how long his master gave him leave to stay ; but as I hear the Assembly there is sitting, and doing

business, I believe he will be wanted, and therefore would advise him to return expeditiously, as soon as you can spare him.

Mr. Cooper is not yet arrived. I shall be glad to see him ; but as he has not had the smallpox, I suppose he will not come so far, for it is spreading here. As the doctors inoculate apace, they will drive it through the town, so that we may expect to be free of it before the winter is over.

My love to brother Mecom and the children, and duty to mother.

I am, dear sister,

Your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XI.

TO MRS. ABIAH FRANKLIN. •

Philadelphia, 1751.

HONORED MOTHER,

We received by this post both your letters of April 13th and 20th. The account you give of poor little Biah grieves me, but I still hope the best. However, God's will must be done. I rejoice that the rest of sister's children and brother Davenport's are likely to escape so well, and Mrs. Billings's.

Enclosed I send an order for six pistoles, which I

believe will be paid on sight. I beg sister to accept four of them, and you the other two.

I am your dutiful son,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XII.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

Philadelphia, 24 October, 1751.

DEAR SISTER,

My son waits upon you with this, whom I heartily recommend to your motherly care and advice. He is indeed a sober and discreet lad of his years, but he is young and unacquainted with the ways of your place.

My compliments to my new niece, Miss Abiah, and pray her to accept the enclosed piece of gold, to cut her teeth ; it may afterwards buy nuts for them to crack.

Some time since I sent a letter to your care for our cousin at Casco Bay. Have you had an opportunity to forward it ?

My love to brother Mecom and your children ; and to brother and sister Davenport and children ; and respects to Mrs. Billings and her daughter, and all other friends, from, dear sister,

Your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XIII.

TO MR. AND MRS. MECOM.

Philadelphia, 21 May, 1752.

DEAR BROTHER AND SISTER,

I received yours with the affecting news of our dear good mother's death. I thank you for your long continued care of her in her old age and sickness. Our distance made it impracticable for us to attend her, but you have supplied all. She has lived a good life, as well as a long one, and is happy.*

* At another time he wrote to a friend, who was in affliction ; —

"The longer we live we are exposed to more of these strokes of Providence; but though we consider them as such, and know it is our duty to submit to the Divine will, yet, when it comes to our turn to bear what so many millions before us have borne, and so many millions after us must bear, we are apt to think our case particularly hard. Consolations, however kindly administered, seldom afford us any relief. Natural affections will have their course, and time proves our best comforter. This I have experienced myself; and, as I know your good sense has suggested to you, long before this time, every argument, motive, and circumstance, that can tend in any degree to relieve your grief, I will not by repeating them renew it.

"I am pleased to find, that, in your troubles, you do not overlook the mercies of God, and that you consider as such the children, that are still spared to you. This is a right temper of mind, and must be acceptable to that beneficent Being, who is in various ways continually showering down his blessings upon many, that receive them as things of course, and feel no grateful sentiments arising in their hearts on the enjoyment of them."

Again he wrote; — "There are objections to the doctrine of pre-

Since I sent you the order on Mr. Huske, I have received his account, and find he thinks he has money to receive, and, though I endeavour by this post to convince him he is mistaken, yet possibly he may not be immediately satisfied, so as to pay that order; therefore, lest the delay should be inconvenient to you, I send the six pistoles enclosed. But if the order is paid, give those to brother John, and desire him to credit my account with them.

Your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

existence. But it seems to have been invented with a good intention, to save the honor of the Deity, which was thought to be injured by the supposition of his bringing creatures into the world to be miserable, without any previous misbehaviour of theirs to deserve it. This, however, is perhaps an officious supporting of the ark, without being called to such service. Where he has thought fit to draw a veil, our attempt to remove it may be called at least an offensive impertinence. And we shall probably succeed little better in such an adventure to gain forbidden knowledge, than our first parents did when they ate the apple.

"I meant no more by saying mankind were all devils to one another, than that being in general superior to the malice of other creatures, they were not so much tormented by them as by themselves. Upon the whole I am much disposed to like the world as I find it, and to doubt my own judgment as to what would mend it. I see so much wisdom, as to what I understand of its creation and government, that I suspect equal wisdom may be in what I do not understand. And thence I have perhaps as much trust in God, as the most pious Christian."

His father died eight years before his mother, and they were buried together. Several years afterwards, when Dr. Franklin

LETTER XIV.

TO MR. AND MRS. MECOM.

Philadelphia, 14 September, 1752.

DEAR BROTHER AND SISTER,

Benny sailed from hence this day two weeks, and left our Capes the Sunday following. They are seldom above three weeks on the voyage to Antigua.

was in Boston, he placed a stone over the grave of his father and mother, with the following inscription ;—

JOSIAH FRANKLIN,
 and
 ABIAH, his Wife,
 Lie here interred.
 They lived loving together in Wedlock
 Fifty-five Years ;
 And, without an Estate, or any gainful Employment,
 By constant Labor and honest Industry,
 (With God's Blessing)
 Maintained a large Family comfortably,
 And brought up thirteen Children and seven Grandchildren
 Respectably.
 From this Instance, Reader,
 Be encouraged to Diligence in thy Calling,
 And distrust not Providence.
 He was a pious and prudent Man,
 She a discreet and virtuous Woman.
 Their youngest Son,
 In filial Regard to their Memory,
 Places this Stone.
 J. F. born 1655, died 1744, *Æt.* 89.
 A. F. born 1667, died 1752, *Æt.* 85.

Within a few years a handsome granite monument has been raised over the tomb of these worthy persons, in honor of their worth and of their name, by the private munificence of a few of

That island is reckoned one of the healthiest in the West Indies. My late partner there enjoyed perfect health for four years, till he grew careless, and got to sitting up late in taverns, which I have cautioned Benny to avoid and have given him all other necessary advice I could think of, relating both to his health and conduct, and I hope for the best.

He will find the business settled to his hand; a newspaper established, no other printing-house to interfere with him, or beat down his prices, which are much higher than we get on the continent. He has the place on the same terms with his predecessor, who, I understand, cleared from five to six hundred pistoles during the four years he lived there. I have recommended him to some gentlemen of note for their patronage and advice.

Mr. Parker, though he looked on Benny as one of his best hands, readily consented to his going, on the first mention of it. I told him Benny must make him satisfaction for his time. He would leave that to be settled by me, and Benny as readily agreed with me to pay Mr. Parker as much as would hire a good journeyman in his room. He came handsomely provided with apparel, and I believe Mr. Parker has, in every respect, done his duty by him, and, in this

the public-spirited citizens of Boston. Is it presuming too much to hope, that a sister city will ere long imitate so generous an example, and render a similar tribute of respect to the remains of their illustrious son?

affair, has really acted a generous part; therefore I hope, if Benny succeeds in the world, he will make Mr. Parker a return beyond what he has promised. I suppose you will not think it amiss to write Mr. and Mrs. Parker a line or two of thanks, for, notwithstanding some little differences, they have on the whole been very kind to Benny.

We have vessels going very frequently from this port to Antigua. You have some too from your port. What letters you send this way I will take care to forward. Antigua is the seat of government for all the Leeward Islands, to wit, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat. Benny will have the business of all those islands, there being no other printer.

After all, having taken care to do *what appears to be for the best*, we must submit to God's Providence, which orders all things really for the best.

While Benny was here, and since, our Assembly was sitting, which took up my time, and I could not before write you so fully.

With love to your children, I am, dear brother and sister,

Your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XV.

TO MR. AND MRS. MECOM.

Philadelphia, 30 November, 1752.

DEAR BROTHER AND SISTER,

I congratulate you on the news of Benny's arrival, for whom I had been some time in pain.

That you may know the whole state of his mind and his affairs, and by that means be better able to advise him, I send you all the letters I have received from or concerning him. I fear I have been too forward in cracking the shell, and producing the chick to the air before its time.

We are at present all well, thanks to God, and hope you and yours are so. I am

Your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. In my opinion, if Benny can but be prevailed on to behave steadily, he may make his fortune there. And without some share of steadiness and perseverance, he can succeed no where. Please to return me the letters,

LETTER XVI.

TO MISS CATHERINE RAY, BLOCK ISLAND.

Philadelphia, 4 March, 1755.

DEAR KATY,

Your kind letter of January 20th is but just come to hand, and I take this first opportunity of acknowledging the favor. It gives me great pleasure to hear, that you got home safe and well that day. I thought too much was hazarded, when I saw you put off to sea in that very little skiff, tossed by every wave. But the call was strong and just, a sick parent. I stood on the shore, and looked after you, till I could no longer distinguish you, even with my glass; then returned to your sister's, praying for your safe passage. Towards evening all agreed that you must certainly be arrived before that time, the weather having been so favorable; which made me more easy and cheerful, for I had been truly concerned for you.

I left New England slowly, and with great reluctance. Short day's journeys, and loitering visits on the road, for three or four weeks, manifested my unwillingness to quit a country, in which I drew my first breath, spent my earliest and most pleasant days, and had now received so many fresh marks of the people's goodness and benevolence, in the kind and affectionate treatment I had every where met with. I almost forgot I had a *home*, till I was more than half

way towards it ; till I had, one by one, parted with all my New England friends, and was got into the western borders of Connecticut, among mere strangers. Then, like an old man, who, having buried all he loved in this world, begins to think of heaven, I began to think of and wish for home ; and as I drew nearer, I found the attraction stronger and stronger. My diligence and speed increased with my impatience. I drove on violently, and made such long stretches, that a very few days brought me to my own house, and to the arms of my good old wife and children, where I remain, thanks to God, at present well and happy.

Persons subject to the *hyp*, complain of the North-east wind, as increasing their malady. But since you promised to send me kisses in that wind, and I find you as good as your word, 'tis to me the gayest wind that blows, and gives me the best spirits. I write this during a North-east storm of snow, the greatest we have had this winter. Your favors come mixed with the snowy fleeces, which are pure as your virgin innocence, white as your lovely bosom, and — as cold. But let it warm towards some worthy young man, and may Heaven bless you both with every kind of happiness.

I desired Miss Anna Ward to send you over a little book I left with her, for your amusement in that lonely island.

My respects to your good father, and mother, and sister. Let me often hear of your welfare, since it is

not likely I shall ever again have the pleasure of seeing you. Accept mine, and my wife's sincere thanks for the many civilities I receive from you and your relations; and do me the justice to believe me, dear girl,

Your affectionate, faithful friend,
and humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. My respectful compliments to your good brother Ward, and sister; and to the agreeable family of the Wards at Newport when you see them. Adieu.

LETTER XVII.

TO MISS CATHERINE RAY.

Philadelphia, 11 September, 1755.

Begone, business, for an hour at least, and let me chat a little with my Katy.

I have now before me, my dear girl, three of your favors, viz. of March the 3d, March the 30th, and May the 1st. The first I received just before I set out on a long journey, and the others while I was on that journey, which held me near six weeks. Since my return, I have been in such a perpetual hurry of public affairs of various kinds, as renders it impracti-

cable for me to keep up my private correspondences, even those that afforded me the greatest pleasure.

You ask in your last, how I do, and what I am doing, and whether every body loves me yet, and why I make them do so.

In regard to the first, I can say, thanks to God, that I do not remember I was ever better. I still relish all the pleasures of life, that a temperate man can in reason desire, and through favor I have them all in my power. This happy situation shall continue as long as God pleases, who knows what is best for his creatures, and I hope will enable me to bear with patience and dutiful submission any change he may think fit to make, that is less agreeable. As to the second question, I must confess (but don't you be jealous), that many more people love me now, than ever did before ; for since I saw you, I have been enabled to do some general services to the country, and to the army, for which both have thanked and praised me, and say they love me. They say so, as you used to do ; and if I were to ask any favors of them, they would, perhaps, as readily refuse me ; so that I find little real advantage in being beloved, but it pleases my humor.

Now it is near four months since I have been favored with a single line from you ; but I will not be angry with you, because it is my fault. I ran in debt to you three or four letters, and as I did not pay, you would not trust me any more, and you had some

reason. But, believe me, I am honest, and though I should never make equal returns, you shall see I will keep fair accounts. Equal returns I can never make, though I should write to you by every post; for the pleasure I receive from one of yours is more than you can have from two of mine. The small news, the domestic occurrences among our friends, the natural pictures you draw of persons, the sensible observations and reflections you make, and the easy, chatty manner in which you express every thing, all contribute to heighten the pleasure; and the more, as they remind me of those hours and miles, that we talked away so agreeably, even in a winter journey, a wrong road, and a soaking shower.

I long to hear whether you have continued ever since in that monastery;* or have broke into the world again, doing pretty mischief; how the lady Wards do, and how many of them are married, or about it; what is become of Mr. B. and Mr. L., and what the state of your heart is at this instant? But that, perhaps, I ought not to know; and, therefore, I will not conjure, as you sometimes say I do. If I could conjure, it should be to know what was that *oddest question about me that ever was thought of*, which you tell me a lady had just sent to ask you.

I commend your prudent resolutions, in the article of granting favors to lovers. But if I were courting

* Block Island.

you, I could not heartily approve such conduct. I should even be malicious enough to say you were too *knowing*, and tell you the old story of the Girl and the Miller. I enclose you the songs you write for, and with them your Spanish letter with a translation. I honor that honest Spaniard for loving you. It showed the goodness of his taste and judgment. But you must forget him, and bless some worthy young Englishman.

You have spun a long thread, five thousand and twenty two yards. It will reach almost from Rhode Island hither. I wish I had hold of one end of it, to pull you to me. But you would break it rather than come. The cords of love and friendship are longer and stronger, and in times past have drawn me farther; even back from England to Philadelphia. I guess that some of the same kind will one day draw you out of that Island.

I was extremely pleased with the —— you sent me. The Irish people, who have seen it, say it is the right sort; but I cannot learn that we have any thing like it here.

The cheeses, particularly one of them, were excellent. All our friends have tasted it, and all agree that it exceeds any English cheese they ever tasted.

Mrs. Franklin was very proud, that a young lady should have so much regard for her old husband, as to send him such a present. We talk of you every time it comes to table. She is sure you are a sensi-

ble girl, and a notable housewife, and talks of bequeathing me to you as a legacy ; but I ought to wish you a better, and hope she will live these hundred years ; for we are grown old together, and if she has any faults, I am so used to them that I don't perceive them ; as the song says,

“ Some faults we have all, and so may my Joan,
But then they 're exceedingly small ;
And now I 'm used to 'em, they 're just like my own,
I scarcely can see them at all,
My dear friends,
I scarcely can see them at all.”

Indeed, I begin to think she has none, as I think of you. And since she is willing I should love you, as much as you are willing to be loved by me, let us join in wishing the old lady a long life and a happy.

With her respectful compliments to you, to your good mother and sisters, present mine, though unknown, and believe me to be, dear girl,

Your affectionate friend
and humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Sally says, “ Papa, my love to Miss Katy.” — If it was not quite unreasonable, I should desire you to write to me every post, whether you hear from me or not. As to your spelling, don't let those laughing girls put you out of conceit with it, 'Tis the best in the world, for every letter of it stands for something.

LETTER XVIII.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Gnadenhutzen, 25 January, 1756.*

MY DEAR CHILD,

This day week we arrived here. I wrote to you the same day, and once since. We all continue well, thanks be to God. We have been hindered with bad weather, yet our fort is in a good defensible condition, and we have every day more convenient living. Two more are to be built, one on each side of this, at about fifteen miles' distance. I hope both will be done in a week or ten days, and then I purpose to bend my course homewards.

We have enjoyed your roast beef, and this day began on the roast veal. All agree that they are both the best, that ever were of the kind. Your citizens, that have their dinners hot and hot, know nothing of good eating. We find it in much greater perfection when the kitchen is four score miles from the dining-room.

The apples are extremely welcome, and do bravely to eat after our salt pork; the minced pies are not yet come to hand, but I suppose we shall find them among the things expected up from Bethlehem, on

* A curious account of this military expedition to build forts on the frontiers, and of his adventures at Gnadenhutzen, is found in the portion of his Memoirs written by himself.

Tuesday ; the capillaire is excellent, but, none of us having taken cold as yet, we have only tasted it.

As to our lodging, 'tis on deal feather-beds, in warm blankets, and much more comfortable than when we lodged at our inn, the first night after we left home ; for the woman being about to put very damp sheets on the bed, we desired her to air them first ; half an hour afterwards, she told us the bed was ready, and the sheets *well aired*. I got into bed, but jumped out immediately, finding them as cold as death, and partly frozen. She had *aired* them indeed, but it was out upon the hedge. I was forced to wrap myself up in my great coat and woollen trowsers. Every thing else about the bed was shockingly dirty.

As I hope in a little time to be with you and my family, and chat things over, I now only add, that I am, dear Debby,

Your affectionate husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XIX.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Fort Allen, at Gnadenhutten, 30 January, 1756.

MY DEAR CHILD,

Every other day, since we have been here, it has rained, more or less, to our no small hindrance. It rained yesterday, and now again to day, which pre-

vented our marching ; so I will sit down half an hour to confer a little with you.

All the things you sent me, from time to time, are safely come to hand, and our living grows every day more comfortable ; yet there are many things we still want, but do not send for them, as we hope our stay here will not be long.

I thought to have wrote you a long letter, but here comes in a number of people, from different parts, that have business with me, and interrupt me ; we have but one room, and that quite public ; so I can only add, that I have just received yours, Sally's, and Grace's letters, of the 25th, with one from Mr. Hughes, and one from Mr. Thomson. Present my respects to those gentlemen (and excuse my not writing, as I have nothing material, and am much hurried), and love to all our friends and neighbors. Billy* presents his duty to you, and love to his sister ; all the gentlemen their compliments ; they drink your health at every meal, having always something on the table to put them in mind of you.

I found, among the newspapers, Mr. Shoen's bills of exchange, which should not have been sent up here ; I suppose it was by mistake, and mention it, that you need not be troubled to look more for them.

I am, dear girl,

Your loving husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

* His son, William Franklin, afterwards governor of New Jersey.

LETTER XX.

TO MRS. JANE Mecom.

Philadelphia, 12 February, 1756.

DEAR SISTER,

I condole with you on the loss of our dear brother. As our number grows less, let us love one another proportionably more.

I am just returned from my military expedition,* and now my time is taken up in the Assembly. Providence seems to require various duties of me. I know not what will be next; but I find the more I seek for leisure and retirement from business, the more I am engaged in it.

Benny, I understand, inclines to leave Antigua. He may be in the right. I have no objection.

My love to brother, and to your children. I am, dearest sister,

Your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

* While on this expedition for building forts he acted in a military capacity, having been commissioned by the governor for the purpose. He had five hundred and sixty men under his command.

LETTER XXI.

TO MISS HUBBARD.*

Philadelphia, 23 February, 1756.

I condole with you. We have lost a most dear and valuable relation. But it is the will of God and nature, that these mortal bodies be laid aside, when the soul is to enter into real life. This is rather an embryo state, a preparation for living. A man is not completely born until he be dead. Why then should we grieve, that a new child is born among the immortals, a new member added to their happy society?

We are spirits. That bodies should be lent us, while they can afford us pleasure, assist us in acquiring knowledge, or in doing good to our fellow creatures, is a kind and benevolent act of God. When they become unfit for these purposes, and afford us pain instead of pleasure, instead of an aid become an incumbrance, and answer none of the intentions for which they were given, it is equally kind and benevolent, that a way is provided by which we may get rid of them. Death is that way. We ourselves, in some cases, prudently choose a partial death. A mangled painful limb, which cannot be restored, we willingly cut off. He, who plucks out a tooth, parts with it freely, since the pain goes with it; and he, who quits the whole body, parts

*This letter was occasioned by the death of Dr. Franklin's brother, Mr. John Franklin.

at once with all pains, and possibilities of pains and diseases, which it was liable to, or capable of making him suffer.

Our friend and we were invited abroad on a party of pleasure, which is to last for ever. His chair was ready first ; and he is gone before us. We could not all conveniently start together ; and why should you and I be grieved at this, since we are soon to follow, and know where to find him ?

Adieu.

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XXII.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

New York, 28 June, 1756.

DEAR SISTER,

I received here your letter of extravagant thanks, which put me in mind of the story of the member of Parliament, who began one of his speeches with saying, he thanked God, that he was born and bred a Presbyterian ; on which another took leave to observe, that the gentleman must needs be of a most grateful disposition, since he was thankful for such very small matters.

You desire me to tell you what I know about Benny's removal, and the reasons of it. Some time last year, when I returned from a long journey, I found a

letter from him, which had been some time unanswered, and it was some considerable time afterwards, before I knew of an opportunity to send an answer. I should first have told you, that when I set him up at Antigua, he was to have the use of the printing-house on the same terms with his predecessor, Mr. Smith ; that is, allowing me one third part of the profits. After this, finding him diligent and careful, for his encouragement, I relinquished that agreement, and let him know, that as you were removed into a dearer house, if he paid you yearly a certain sum, I forget what it was, towards discharging your rent, and another small sum to me, in sugar and rum for my family use, he need keep no farther accounts of the profits, but should enjoy all the rest to himself. I cannot remember what the whole of both payments amounted to, but I think they did not exceed twenty pounds a year.

The truth is, I intended, from the first, to give him that printing-house ; but, as he was young and inexperienced in the world, I thought it best not to do it immediately, but to keep him a little dependent for a time, to check the flighty unsteadiness of temper, which, on several occasions, he had discovered ; and what I received from him, I concluded to lay out in new letters (or types), that when I should give it to him entirely, it might be worth his acceptance ; and if I should die first, I put it in my will, that the letters should be all new cast for him.

This proposal of paying you and me a certain annual sum did not please him ; and he wrote to desire I would explicitly tell him how long that annual payment was to continue ? Whether, on payment of that, all prior demands I had against him, for the arrears of our first agreement, were likewise cancelled ; and finally insisted that I would name a certain sum, that I would take for the printing-house, and allow him to pay it off in parts as he could, and then the yearly payments to cease ; for though he had a high esteem for me, yet he loved freedom, and his spirit could not bear dependence on any man, though he were the best man living.

This was the letter, which occasionally remained, as I said, so long unanswered ; at which he took farther offence ; and before I could answer it, I received another from him, acquainting me that he had come to a resolution to remove from the Island ; that his resolution was fixed, and nothing that could be said to him should move or shake it ; and he proposed another person to me, to carry on the business in his room. This was immediately followed by another and a third letter, to the same purpose, all declaring the inflexibility of his determination to leave the Island, but without saying where he proposed to go, or what were his motives. So I wrote him, that I would not attempt to change his resolutions ; that I made no objections to his quitting, but wished he had let me know where he was going ; that, as to the person he recommended to succeed him, I had kept the office there after Mr. Smith's

decease, in hopes it might be of use to him (Benny). I did not incline to be concerned with any other there. However, if the person would buy it, I named the price ; if not, I directed it to be packed up and sent home. All I desired of him was to discharge what he owed to Mr. Strahan, bookseller in London, one of my friends, who had credited him on my recommendation.

By this post I received the enclosed letter, and understand the things are all arrived. I shall be very glad to hear he does better in another place, but I fear he will not for some years be cured of his fickleness, and get fixed to any purpose ; however, we must hope for the best, as with this fault he has many good qualities and virtues.

My love to brother and children, and to all that love you. I am, dear sister,

Your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XXIII.

TO MRS. JANE Mecom.

New York, 12 July, 1756.

DEAR SISTER,

I am still here, waiting the arrival of Lord Loudoun. I received yours of the 5th instant, and shall forward the letter to Benny. I would not have you grieve

about the affair ; perhaps all is for the best. When I get home, I shall send you his letters for your full satisfaction.

My love to brother, and your children.

I am, dear sister,

Your loving brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XXIV.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

Philadelphia, 19 August, 1756.

SIR,

I have your favor of July 23d, and August 3d, but that you mention to have wrote by Mr. Balfour is not come to hand. I forwarded the packet enclosed in that of July 23d, as directed, and shall readily take care of any other letters from you, that pass through my hands.

The post, between this place and Winchester, was established for the accommodation of the army chiefly, by a vote of our Assembly. They are not willing to

* At this time commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces, raised to protect the frontiers from the Indians and French. His headquarters were at Winchester. Dr. Franklin was now deputy-postmaster, or rather the postmaster-general for the Colonies, and the year previous, during Braddock's march, he had arranged a post between Philadelphia and Winchester, in consequence of a vote of the Pennsylvania Assembly.

continue the charge, and it must, I believe, be dropped, unless your Assembly and that of Maryland will contribute to support it, which, perhaps, is scarce to be expected.

I am sorry it should be laid down, as I shall myself be a loser in the affair of newspapers.* But the letters per post by no means defray the expense. If you can prevail with your Assembly to pay the rider from Winchester to Carlisle, I will endeavour to persuade ours to continue paying the rider from Carlisle hither. My agreement with the House was, to carry all public despatches gratis, to keep account of postage received for private letters, charge the expense of riders and offices, and they were to pay the balance.

I am, Sir,

With great esteem and respect,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. We have just received news, that the Delaware Indians, with whom we treated lately at Easton, have burnt the goods they received as presents, and resolved to continue the war.

* When this letter was written, Dr. Franklin printed and published a newspaper in Philadelphia.

LETTER XXV.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Easton, 13 November, 1756.*

MY DEAR CHILD,

I wrote to you a few days since, by a special messenger, and enclosed letters for all our wives and sweethearts; expecting to hear from you by his return, and to have the northern newspapers and English letters per the packet; but he is just now returned without a scrap for poor us. So I had a good mind not to write to you by this opportunity; but I never can be ill-natured enough, even when there is the most occasion. The messenger says he left the letters at your house, and saw you afterwards at Mr. Duché's, and told you when he would go, and that he lodged at Honey's, next door to you, and yet you did not write; so let Goody Smith give one more just judgment, and say what should be done to you. I think I won't tell you that we are well, nor that we expect to return about the middle of the week, nor will I send you a word of news; that 's poz.

* This letter was written while Franklin was at Easton, as a member of the committee appointed by the Assembly of Pennsylvania, to accompany the governor thither, for the purpose of holding a conference with the Indians. The famous Teedyuskung was one of the chiefs present at that conference.

My duty to mother, love to the children, and to Miss Betsey and Gracey, &c. &c.

I am your *loving* husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. I have *scratched out the loving words*, being writ in haste by mistake, when I *forgot I was angry*.

LETTER XXVI.

TO MR. AND MRS. MECOM.

Philadelphia, 30 December, 1756.

DEAR BROTHER AND SISTER,

You will receive this by the hand of your son Benjamin, on whose safe return from the West Indies I sincerely congratulate you.

He has settled accounts with me, and paid the balance honorably. He has also cleared the old printing-house to himself, and sent it to Boston, where he purposes to set up his business, together with book-selling, which, considering his industry and frugality, I make no doubt will answer. He has good credit and some money in England, and I have helped him by lending him a little more ; so that he may expect a cargo of books, and a quantity of new letter, in the spring ; and I shall from time to time furnish him with paper.

We all join in love to you and yours.

I am your loving brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XXVII.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

Philadelphia, 21 February, 1757.

DEAR SISTER,

I am glad to hear your son is got well home. I like your conclusion not to take a house for him till summer, and if he stays till his new letters arrive, perhaps it would not be amiss ; for a good deal depends on the first appearance a man makes. As he will keep a bookseller's shop, with his printing-house, I don't know but it might be worth his while to set up at Cambridge.

I enclose you some whisk seed ; it is a kind of corn, good for creatures ; it must be planted in hills, like Indian corn. The tops make the best thatch in the world ; and of the same are made the whisks you use for velvet. Pray try if it will grow with you. I brought it from Virginia. Give some to Mr. Cooper, some to Mr. Bowdoin.

Love to cousin Sally, and her spouse. I wish them and you much joy. Love to brother, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XXVIII.

TO MISS CATHERINE RAY.

Philadelphia, 3 March, 1757.

DEAR KATY,

Being about to leave America for some time, I could not go without taking leave of my dear friend.*

I received your favor of the 8th of November, and am ashamed, that I have suffered it to remain so long unanswered, especially as now, through shortness of time, I cannot chat with you in any manner agreeably.

I can only wish you well and happy, which I do most cordially. Present my best compliments to your good mamma, brother and sister Ward, and all your other sisters, the agreeable Misses Ward, Dr. Babcock and family, the charitable Misses Stanton, and, in short, to all that love me. I should have said all that love you, but that would be giving you too much trouble.

Adieu, dear good girl, and believe me ever your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

* He had been appointed, on the 3d of February, by the Assembly of Pennsylvania, a commissioner to proceed to England, as agent for the province, and particularly to solicit the removal of grievances, under which the province labored, in consequence of the proprietary instructions to the governors.

LETTER XXIX.

TO MRS. JANE Mecom.

New York, 19 April, 1757.

DEAR SISTER,

I wrote a few lines to you yesterday, but omitted to answer yours, relating to sister Douse. As *having their own way* is one of the greatest comforts of life to old people, I think their friends should endeavour to accommodate them in that, as well as in any thing else. When they have long lived in a house, it becomes natural to them; they are almost as closely connected with it, as the tortoise with his shell; they die, if you tear them out of it; old folks and old trees, if you remove them, 'tis ten to one that you kill them; so let our good old sister be no more importuned on that head. We are growing old fast ourselves, and shall expect the same kind of indulgences; if we give them, we shall have a right to receive them in our turn.

And as to her few fine things, I think she is in the right not to sell them, and for the reason she gives, that they will fetch but little; when that little is spent, they would be of no further use to her; but perhaps the expectation of possessing them at her death, may make that person tender and careful of her, and helpful to her to the amount of ten times their value. If so, they are put to the best use they possibly can be.

I hope you visit sister as often as your affairs will permit, and afford her what assistance and comfort you can in her present situation. *Old age, infirmities,* and *poverty*, joined, are afflictions enough. The *neglect* and *slights* of friends and near relations should never be added. People in her circumstances are apt to suspect this sometimes without cause ; *appearances* should therefore be attended to, in our conduct towards them, as well as *realities*. I write by this post to cousin Williams, to continue his care, which I doubt not he will do.

We expect to sail in about a week, so that I can hardly hear from you again on this side the water ; but let me have a line from you now and then, while I am in London. I expect to stay there at least a twelvemonth. Direct your letters to be left for me at the Pennsylvania Coffee-house, in Birchin Lane, London.

My love to all, from, dear sister,

Your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. April 25. We are still here, and perhaps may be here a week longer. Once more adieu, my dear sister.

LETTER XXX.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

Woodbridge, New Jersey, 21 May, 1757.

DEAR SISTER,

I received your kind letter of the 9th instant, in which you acquainted me with some of your late troubles. These are troublesome times to us all; but perhaps you have had more than you should. I am glad to hear that Peter is at a place where he has full employ. A trade is a valuable thing; but, unless a habit of industry be acquired with it, it turns out of little use; if he gets *that* in his new place, it will be a happy exchange, and the occasion not an unfortunate one.

It is very agreeable to me to hear so good an account of your other children; in such a number to have no bad ones is a great happiness.

The horse sold very low indeed. If I wanted one to-morrow, knowing his goodness, old as he is, I should freely give more than twice the money for him; but you did the best you could, and I will take of Benny no more than he produced.

I don't doubt but Benny will do very well when he gets to work; but I fear his things from England may be so long a coming, as to occasion the loss of the rent. Would it not be better for you to move into the house? Perhaps not, if he is near being married.

I know nothing of that affair, but what you write me, except that I think Miss Betsey a very agreeable, sweet-tempered, good girl, who has had a housewifely education, and will make, to a good husband, a very good wife. Your sister and I have a great esteem for her, and if she will be kind enough to accept of our nephew, we think it will be his own fault, if he is not as happy as the married state can make him. The family is a respectable one, but whether there be any fortune I know not ; and as you do not inquire about this particular, I suppose you think with me, that where every thing else desirable is to be met with, that is not very material. If she does not *bring* a fortune she will help to *make* one. Industry, frugality, and prudent economy in a wife, are to a tradesman, in their effects, a fortune ; and a fortune sufficient for Benjamin, if his expectations are reasonable. We can only add, that, if the young lady and her friends are willing, we give our consent heartily, and our blessing. My love to brother and the children.

Your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. If Benny will promise to be one of the tenderest husbands in the world, I give my consent. He knows already what I think of Miss Betsey. I am his loving aunt,

DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

LETTER XXXI.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

New York, 30 May, 1757.

DEAR SISTER,

I have before me yours of the 9th and 16th instant. I am glad you have resolved to visit sister Douse oftener ; it will be a great comfort to her, to find she is not neglected by you, and your example may, perhaps, be followed by some others of her relations.

As Neddy is yet a young man, I hope he may get over the disorder he complains of, and in time wear it out. My love to him and his wife, and the rest of your children. It gives me pleasure to hear, that Eben is likely to get into business at his trade. If he will be industrious and frugal, 'tis ten to one but he gets rich, for he seems to have spirit and activity.

I am glad that Peter is acquainted with the crown-soap business, so as to make what is good of the kind. I hope he will always take care to make it faithfully, and never slight the manufacture, or attempt to deceive by appearances. Then he may boldly put his name and mark, and in a little time it will acquire as good a character, as that made by his late uncle, or any other person whatever. I believe his aunt at Philadelphia can help him to sell a good deal of it ; and I doubt not of her doing every thing in her power to promote his interest in that way. Let a box be sent

her (but not unless it be right good), and she will immediately return the ready money for it. It was beginning once to be in vogue in Philadelphia, but brother John sent me one box, an ordinary sort, which checked its progress. I would not have him put the Franklin arms on it ; but the soapboilers' arms he has a right to use, if he thinks fit. The other would look too much like an attempt to counterfeit. In his advertisements, he may value himself on serving his time with the original maker, but put his own mark or device on the papers, or any thing he may be advised to as proper ; only on the soap, as it is called by the name of crown-soap, it seems necessary to use a stamp of that sort, and perhaps no soapboiler in the king's dominions has a better right to the crown than himself.

Nobody has wrote a syllable to me concerning his making use of the hammer, or made the least complaint of him or you. I am sorry, however, that he took it without leave. It was irregular, and if you had not approved of his doing it, I should have thought it indiscreet. *Leave*, they say, *is light*, and it seems to me a piece of respect, that was due to his aunt, to ask it, and I can scarce think she would have refused him the favor.

I am glad to hear Johnny is so good and diligent a workman. If he ever sets up at the goldsmith's business, he must remember, that there is one accomplishment without which he cannot possibly thrive in that trade,

i. e. *perfect honesty*. It is a business, that, though ever so uprightly managed, is always liable to suspicion ; and if a man is once detected in the smallest fraud, it soon becomes public, and every one is put upon his guard against him ; no one will venture to try his wares, or trust him to make up his plate ; so at once he is ruined. I hope my nephew will, therefore, establish a character as an *honest* and faithful, as well as *skilful* workman, and then he need not fear for employment.

And now, as to what you propose for Benny, I believe he may be, as you say, well enough qualified for it, and when he appears to be settled, if a vacancy should happen, it is very probable he may be thought of to supply it ; but it is a rule with me not to remove any officer, that behaves well, keeps regular accounts, and pays duly ; and I think the rule is founded on reason and justice. I have not shown any backwardness to assist Benny, where it could be done without injuring another. But if my friends require of me to gratify not only their inclinations, but their resentments, they expect too much of me. Above all things I dislike family quarrels, and when they happen among my relations, nothing gives me more pain. If I were to set myself up as a judge of those subsistings between you and brother's widow and children, how unqualified must I be, at this distance, to determine rightly, especially having heard but one side. They always treated me with friendly and affectionate regard ; you have done the same. What can

I say between you, but that I wish you were reconciled, and that I will love that side best, that is most ready to forgive and oblige the other? You will be angry with me here, for putting you and them too much upon a footing ; but I shall nevertheless be,

Dear sister,

Your truly affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XXXII.

TO THOMAS HUBBARD, BOSTON.

London, 28 April, 1758.

SIR,

In pursuance of Mr. Winthrop's memorandum, which I lately received from you, through the hands of Mr. Mico, I have procured and delivered to him the following things, viz.

A mahogany case lined with lead, containing thirty-five square glass bottles, in five rows, seven in a row.

A glass globe of the same size and kind with that I used at Philadelphia, and mounted in the same manner.

A large glass cylinder mounted on an iron axis with brass caps, this form being most used here, and thought better than the globe, as a long, narrow cushion will electrify a greater surface at the same time.

The bottles have necks, which I think better than to be quite open, for so they would either be exposed to the dust and damp of the air, if they had no stoppers, or the stoppers would be too near together to admit of electrifying a single bottle, or row of bottles ; there is only a little more difficulty in lining the inside with tinfoil, but that is chiefly got over by cutting it into narrow strips, and guiding them in with a stick flat at one end to apply the more conveniently to the pasted side of the glass. I would have coated them myself, if the time had not been too short. I send the tinfoil, which I got made of a proper breadth for the purpose ; they should be coated nine inches high, which brings the coating just even with the edge of the case. The tinfoil is ~~ten~~ inches broad, which allows for lapping over the bottom.

I have bored the holes in all the stoppers for the communicating wires, provided all the wires, and fixed one or two to show the manner. Each wire, to go into a bottle, is bent so that the two ends go in and spring against the inside coating or lining. The middle of the wire goes up into the stopper, with an eye, through which the long communicating wires pass, that connect all the bottles in one row.

To form occasional communications with more rows, there must be, on the long wires of the second and fourth rows, four other movable wires, which I call cross-wires, about two inches and a half long, with a small ball of any metal about the size of a pistol

bullet at each end. The ball of one end is to have a hole through the middle, so that it may be slipped on the long wire; and one of these cross-wires is to be placed between the third and fourth bottles of the row at each end; and on each of the abovementioned rows, that is, two to each row, they must be made to turn easy on the wires, so that when you would charge only the middle row, you turn two of them back on the first, and two on the fifth row, then the middle row will be unconnected with the others. When you would charge more rows, you turn them forwards or backwards, so as to have the communication completed with just the number of rows you want.

The brass handles of the case communicate with the outside of the bottles, when you wish to make the electrical circuit.

I see now I have wrote it, that the greatest part of this letter would have been more properly addressed to Mr. Winthrop himself,* but probably you will send it to him with the things, and that will answer the end. Be pleased to tender my best respects to him, and the rest of the gentlemen of the College.

I am, with great esteem and regard, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. I beg the College will do me the favor to

* At that time Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Harvard University, for which institution the electrical apparatus described in this letter was designed.

accept a Virgil, which I send in the case, thought to be the most curiously printed of any book hitherto done in the world.*

LETTER XXXIII.

To MISS STEVENSON.†

Tunbridge Wells, 20 August, 1758.

DEAR POLLY,

My son I know intended writing to you this morning, so as to send by this day's post; but sundry unexpected hindrances have prevented him, as well as me. He is gone to dine abroad, and I doubt will hardly be able to disengage himself before the post goes. Therefore, as well as to acknowledge the receipt of your kind favor of the 18th, I snatch a moment from company, and write this line to let you know, that we are well, and that you will hear from

* A copy of Baskerville's quarto edition of Virgil, printed the year before at Birmingham, and perhaps the most beautiful of the various works by which this celebrated type-founder and printer gained the praise of "uniting, in a singularly happy manner, the elegance of Plantin with the clearness of the Elzevirs."

† Daughter of Mrs. Stevenson, a widow lady, in whose house Dr. Franklin resided while in London. This house was situated in Craven street, near the Strand. It is still standing, and is indicated in the London Guide-Books, as among the objects worthy to be noticed by the curious traveller.

us both by Tuesday's post. Till then I shall only say, that I find myself, with greater esteem and regard than ever, dear child,

Your firmly affectionate

Friend and servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XXXIV.

TO MISS STEVENSON.

Craven Street, Friday, 4 May, 1759.

MY DEAR CHILD,

Hearing that you were in the Park last Sunday, I hoped for the pleasure of seeing you yesterday at the oratorio in the Foundling Hospital; but though I looked with all the eyes I had, not excepting even those I carry in my pocket, I could not find you; and this morning your good mamma has received a line from you, by which we learn that you are returned to Wanstead.

It is long since you heard from me, though not a day passes in which I do not think of you with the same affectionate regard and esteem I ever had for you. My not writing is partly owing to an inexcusable indolence, which I find grows upon me as I grow in years, and partly from an expectation I have had, from week to week, of making a little journey into

Essex, in which I intended to call at Wanstead, and promised to myself the pleasure of seeing you there. I have now fixed this day se'nnight for that journey, and purpose to take Mrs. Stevenson out with me, leave her with you till the next day, and call for her on Saturday in my return. Let me know by a line if you think any thing may make such a visit from us at that time improper or inconvenient. Present my sincere respects to Mrs. Tickell, and believe me ever, dear Polly,

Your truly affectionate friend,
and humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. We have company that dine with us to-day, and your careful mamma, being busied about many things, cannot write. Will did not see you in the Park. Mr. Hunter and his sister are both gone. God prosper their voyage. My compliments to Miss Pitt.

LETTER XXXV.

To Miss STEVENSON.

14 February, 1760.

I see I must overcome the indolence so natural to old men, and write now and then to my dear good girl, or I shall seldom have the pleasure of a line from

her; and indeed it is scarce reasonable in me to expect it.

I received your kind congratulations, on occasion of the new year; and though you had not mine in writing, be assured that I did and do daily wish you every kind of happiness, and of the longest continuance.

Your good mamma will have the pleasure of seeing and conversing with you to-day. I should be extremely glad to partake of that pleasure, by accompanying her to Wanstead, but business will not permit.

Present my respectful compliments to the good ladies, your aunts, and believe me to be, with the sincerest esteem and regard, dear Polly,

Your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.*

* On the 9th of January, 1760, Dr. Franklin wrote as follows to a sister in America.

"It is remarkable, that so many breaches by death should be made in our family in so short a space. Out of seventeen children, that our father had, thirteen lived to grow up and settle in the world. I remember these thirteen (some of us then very young) all at one table, when an entertainment was made at our house, on occasion of the return of our brother Josiah, who had been absent in the East Indies, and unheard of for nine years. Of these thirteen, there now remain but three. As our number diminishes, let our affection to each other rather increase; for, besides its being our duty, 'tis our interest, since the more affectionate relations are to each other, the more they are respected by the rest of the world."

In a biographical sketch of Dr. Franklin, lately published in England, which, in the main, is a high eulogium upon his char-

LETTER XXXVI.

TO MISS STEVENSON.

Craven Street, 1 May, 1760.

I embrace, most gladly, my dear friend's proposal of a subject for our future correspondence; not only as it will occasion my hearing from her more frequently, but as it will lay me under a necessity of improving my own knowledge, that I may be better able to assist in her improvement. I only fear my necessary business and journeys, with the natural indolence of an old man, will make me too unpunctual a correspondent. For this I must hope some indulgence.

But why will you, by the cultivation of your mind, make yourself still more amiable, and a more desira-

acter, is contained the following reflection; — "Although, in the service of his country, he occupied his best and ripest powers with unwearied diligence and unimpeachable disinterestedness, the details of his private life leave some remarkable deficiencies. We read of his father and mother, and of their thirteen children in the early part of his life, but hear little of his intercourse with brothers or sisters, after his attainment of wealth and influence." — The above extract from one of his letters is a sufficient comment upon this paragraph.

All his brothers and sisters, but two, were dead before he arrived at affluence or eminence in the world. With his surviving sister, who lived in Boston, his correspondence was constant, cordial, and affectionate to the very end of his life, accompanied by many substantial proofs of fraternal kindness.

ble companion for a man of understanding, when you are determined, as I hear, to live single. If we enter, as you propose, into *moral* as well as natural philosophy, I fancy, when I have established my authority as a tutor, I shall take upon me to lecture you a little on the chapter of duty.

But, to be serious, our easiest mode of proceeding I think will be, for you to read some books, that I may recommend to you ; and, in the course of your reading, whatever occurs that you do not thoroughly apprehend, or that you clearly conceive and find pleasure in, may occasion either some questions for further information, or some observations that show how far you are satisfied and pleased with your author. These will furnish matter for your letters to me, and, in consequence, of mine also to you.

Let me know, then, what books you have already perused on the subject intended, that I may the better judge what to advise for your next reading. And believe me ever,

My dear good girl,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XXXVII.

TO MISS STEVENSON.

Craven Street, 16 May, 1760.

I send my good girl the books I mentioned to her last night. I beg her to accept of them as a small mark of my esteem and friendship. They are written in the familiar, easy manner, for which the French are so remarkable; and afford a good deal of philosophic and practical knowledge, unembarrassed with the dry mathematics used by more exact reasoners, but which are apt to discourage young beginners.

I would advise you to read with a pen in your hand, and enter in a little book short hints of what you find that is curious, or that may be useful; for this will be the best method of imprinting such particulars in your memory, where they will be ready, either for practice on some future occasion, if they are matters of utility; or at least to adorn and improve your conversation, if they are rather points of curiosity. And as many of the terms of science are such, as you cannot have met with in your common reading, and may therefore be unacquainted with, I think it would be well for you to have a good dictionary at hand, to consult immediately when you meet with a word you do not comprehend the precise meaning of. This may at first seem troublesome and interrupting; but it is a trouble that will daily diminish, as you will

daily find less and less occasion for your dictionary, as you become more acquainted with the terms ; and in the mean time you will read with more satisfaction, because with more understanding.

When any point occurs, in which you would be glad to have farther information than your book affords you, I beg you would not in the least apprehend, that I should think it a trouble to receive and answer your questions. It will be a pleasure, and no trouble. For though I may not be able, out of my own little stock of knowledge, to afford you what you require, I can easily direct you to the books, where it may most readily be found. Adieu, and believe me ever, my dear friend,

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XXXVIII.

TO MISS STEVENSON.

Craven Street, 7 July, 1761.

This is just to acquaint my dear Polly, that her good mamma, Mr. and Mrs. Strahan, and her friend Franklin, purpose to be at Bromley on Tuesday morning next, to have the pleasure of seeing Dr. and Mrs. Hawkesworth and the agreeable Misses Blount, dining there and returning in the evening. They

carry down with them Miss Peggy Strahan and leave her there, instead of Miss Stevenson, who is to come to town with them. This is the scheme ; but all this in case it will be agreeable to our friends at Bromley, of which you are to let us know. Mr. Strahan is here with us, and we all join in drinking your health, with that of our Bromley friends. 'Tis eleven o'clock at night, and the post rings his bell, which obliges me to conclude, dear good girl,

Your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Your mamma says, God bless you. Peter could find me no better paper.

LETTER XXXIX.

TO MISS STEVENSON.

Craven Street, 29 October, 1761.

My dear Polly's good mamma bids me write two or three lines, by way of apology for her so long omitting to write. She acknowledges the receiving of two agreeable letters from her beloved daughter, enclosing one for Sally Franklin, which was much approved (excepting one word only) and sent as directed.

The reasons of her not writing are, that her time all day is fully taken up, during the day-light, with

the care of her family, and—lying abed in the morning. And her eyes are so bad, that she cannot see to write in the evening—for playing at cards. So she hopes that one, who is all goodness, will certainly forgive her, when her excuses are so substantial. As for the Secretary, he has not a word to say in his own behalf, though full as great an offender, but throws himself upon mercy; pleading only that he is, with the greatest esteem and sincerest regard, his dear Polly's

Ever affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Compliments to the good family, and to Mrs. Byrd, if still with you. We shall be glad to see Mr. White as often as agreeable to him.

LETTER XL.

To Miss STEVENSON.

Monday Morning, 8 March, 1762.

DEAR POLLY,

Your good mamma has just been saying to me, that she wonders what can possibly be the reason she has not had a line from you for so long a time. I have made no complaint of that kind, being conscious that by not writing myself, I have forfeited all claim to such favor, though no letters give me more pleas-

ure, and I often wish to hear from you ; but indolence grows upon me with years, and writing grows more and more irksome to me.

Have you finished your course of philosophy ? No more doubts to be resolved ? No more questions to ask ? If so, you may now be at full leisure to improve yourself in cards. Adieu, my dear child, and believe me ever

Your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Respects to Mrs. Tickell, &c. Mamma bids me tell you she is lately much afflicted and half a cripple with the rheumatism. I send you two or three French *Gazettes de Médecine*, which I have just received from Paris, wherein is a translation of the extract of a letter you copied out for me. You will return them with my French letters on Electricity, when you have perused them.

LETTER XLI.

TO MISS STEVENSON.

24 May, 1762.

According to promise I write on Monday, to let my good girl know how her mamma does ; but so late in the day, that I fear I might as well have let it alone till Tuesday. She is not yet quite well, but so well as to be abroad ever since morning. I went

early into the city, dined there, and returned, hoping for the pleasure of a dish of tea with her ; when I learnt that she went out soon after me, and had not since been at home. So I was forced to beg my tea at Mr. Gambier's. This will look like a complaint, but I don't intend it.

Are you provided with a house ? If not, look into to-morrow's Daily Advertiser, where you will find one to be let at Ealing, which I know and think I could recommend, as to the pleasantness of the neighbourhood, roads, and the like, if the description appears such as may make the rest agreeable. I know there is a good deal of garden, and abundance of room in and about the house.

I shall be glad to hear, that you got well home and found all well. Present my best respects to Mrs. Tickell, Mrs. Rooke, and to Pitty.

I am, my dear friend,

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XLII.

TO MISS STEVENSON.

London, 7 June, 1762.

DEAR POLLY,

I received your favor of the 27th past, and have since expected your intended philosophical epistle. But you have not had leisure to write it !

Your good mamma, is now perfectly well, as I think, excepting now and then a few rheumatic complaints, which, however, seem gradually diminishing.

I am glad to hear you are about to enjoy the happiness of seeing and being with your friends at Bromley. My best respects to the good Doctor and Mrs. Hawkesworth, and say to the dear ladies, that I kiss their hands respectfully and affectionately.

Our ships for America do not sail so soon as I expected; it will be yet five or six weeks before we embark, and leave the old world for the new. I fancy I feel a little like dying saints, who, in parting with those they love in this world, are only comforted with the hope of more perfect happiness in the next. I have, in America, connexions of the most engaging kind, and, happy as I have been in the friendships here contracted, *those* promise me greater and more lasting felicity. But God only knows whether these promises shall be fulfilled.

Adieu, my dear good girl, and believe me ever

Your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XLIII.

To Miss STEVENSON.

Portsmouth, 11 August, 1762.

MY DEAR POLLY,

This is the best paper I can get at this wretched inn, but it will convey what is entrusted to it as faithfully as the finest. It will tell my Polly how much her friend is afflicted, that he must, perhaps, never again see one for whom he has so sincere an affection, joined to so perfect an esteem; who he once flattered himself might become his own, in the tender relation of a child, but can now entertain such pleasing hopes no more. Will it tell *how much* he is afflicted? — No, it cannot.

Adieu, my dearest child. I will call you so. Why should I not call you so, since I love you with all the tenderness of a father? — Adieu. May the God of all goodness shower down his choicest blessings upon you, and make you infinitely happier, than that event would have made you. And wherever I am, believe me to be, with unalterable affection, my dear Polly,

Your sincere friend,

B. FRANKLIN.*

* Dr. Franklin sailed for America immediately after writing this letter. He had been in England five years, having arrived there

LETTER XLIV.

TO MRS. CATHERINE GREENE.

Philadelphia, 23 January, 1763.

I received with great pleasure my dear friend's favor of December 20th, as it informed me that you and yours are all well.

Mrs. Franklin admits of your apology for dropping the correspondence with her, and allows your reasons to be good; but hopes when you have more leisure it may be resumed. She joins with me in congratulating you on your present happy situation.

I thank you for your kind invitation. I purpose a journey into New England in the spring or summer coming. I shall not fail to pay my respects to you and Mr. Greene, when I come your way. Please to make my compliments acceptable to him.

I have had a most agreeable time of it in Europe. I have, in company with my son, been in most parts of England, Scotland, Flanders, and Holland; and

in July, 1757. He was employed during that time as agent for the colony of Pennsylvania.

At the first session of the Assembly after his return, a vote was passed allowing him a salary of five hundred pounds sterling per annum during his absence; and the thanks of the House were also voted to be given him by the Speaker from the chair, "as well for the faithful discharge of his duty to the province in particular, as for the many and important services done America in general, during his residence in Great Britain."

generally have enjoyed a good share of health. If you had asked the rest of your questions, I could more easily have made this letter longer. Let me have them in your next. I think I am not much altered ; at least my esteem and regard for my Katy (if I may still be permitted to call her so) is the same, and I believe will be unalterable, whilst

I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. My best respects to your good brother and sister Ward. My daughter presents her compliments. My son is not yet arrived.

LETTER XLV.

TO MISS STEVENSON.

Philadelphia, 25 March, 1763.

MY DEAR POLLY,

Your pleasing favor of November 11th is now before me. It found me, as you supposed it would, happy with my American friends and family about me ; and it made me more happy in showing me, that I am not yet forgotten by the dear friends I left in England. And, indeed, why should I fear they will ever forget me, when I feel so strongly that I shall ever remember them ?

I sympathize with you sincerely in your grief at the

separation from your old friend, Miss Pitt. The reflection that she is going to be more happy, when she leaves you, might comfort you, if the case were likely to be so circumstanced ; but when the country and company she has been educated in, and those she is removing to, are compared, one cannot possibly expect it.

I sympathize no less with you in your joys. But it is not merely on your account, that I rejoice at the recovery of your dear Dolly's * health. I love that dear good girl myself, and I love her other friends. I am, therefore, made happy by what must contribute so much to the happiness of them all. Remember me to her, and to every one of that worthy and amiable family, most affectionately.

Remember me in the same manner to your and my good Doctor and Mrs. Hawkesworth. You have lately, you tell me, had the pleasure of spending three days with them at Mrs. Stanley's. It was a sweet society. I, too, once partook of that same pleasure, and can therefore feel what you must have felt. Remember me also to Mr. and Mrs. Stanley and to Miss Arlond.

Of all the enviable things England has, I envy it most its people. Why should that petty Island, which, compared to America, is but like a stepping-stone in a brook, scarce enough of it above water to keep one's

* Miss Dorothea Blount.

shoes dry ; why, I say, should that little Island enjoy, in almost every neighbourhood, more sensible, virtuous, and elegant minds, than we can collect in ranging a hundred leagues of our vast forests ? But 'tis said the Arts delight to travel westward. You have effectually defended us in this glorious war, and in time you will improve us. After the first cares for the necessities of life are over, we shall come to think of the embellishments. Already, some of our young geniuses begin to lisp attempts at painting, poetry, and music. We have a young painter now studying at Rome. Some specimens of our poetry I send you, which, if Dr. Hawkesworth's fine taste cannot approve, his good heart will at least excuse. The manuscript piece is by a young friend of mine, and was occasioned by the loss of one of his friends, who lately made a voyage to Antigua to settle some affairs, previous to an intended marriage with an amiable young lady here, but unfortunately died there. I send it to you, because the author is a great admirer of Mr. Stanley's musical compositions, and has adapted this piece to an air in the sixth *Concerto* of that gentleman, the sweetly solemn movement of which, he is quite in raptures with. He has attempted to compose a *Recitativo* for it, but, not being able to satisfy himself in the bass, wishes I could get it supplied. If Mr. Stanley would condescend to do that for him, he would esteem it as one of the highest honors, and it would make him excessively happy. You will say that a *Recitativo* can be but a

poor specimen of our music. 'Tis the best and all I have at present, but you may see better hereafter.

I hope Mr. Ralph's affairs are mended since you wrote. I know he had some expectations, when I came away, from a hand that would help him. He has merit, and one would think ought not to be so unfortunate.

I do not wonder at the behaviour you mention of Dr. S. towards me, for I have long since known him thoroughly. I made that man my enemy, by doing him too much kindness. 'Tis the honestest way of acquiring an enemy. And since it is convenient to have at least one enemy, who, by his readiness to revile one on all occasions, may make one careful of one's conduct, I shall keep him an enemy for that purpose ; and shall observe your good mother's advice, never again to receive him as a friend. She once admired the benevolent spirit breathed in his sermons. She will now see the justness of the lines your laureate Whitehead addressed to his poets, and which I now address to her.

" Full many a peevish, envious, slanderous elf,
Is — in his works — benevolence itself.
For all mankind — unknown — his bosom heaves ;
He only injures those, with whom he lives.
Read, then, the man ; — does *Truth* his actions guide,
Exempt from *petulance*, exempt from *pride* ?
To social duties does his heart attend,
As son, as father, husband, brother, *friend* ?
Do those, who know him, love him ? If they do,
You 've my permission, you may love him too."

Nothing can please me more, than to see your philosophical improvements, when you have leisure to communicate them to me. I still owe you a long letter on that subject, which I shall pay.

I am vexed with Mr. James, that he has been so dilatory in Mr. Madison's Armonica. I was unlucky in both the workmen, that I permitted to undertake making those instruments. The first was fanciful, and never could work to the purpose, because he was ever conceiving some new improvement, that answered no end. The other I doubt is absolutely idle. I have recommended a number to him from hence, but must stop my hand.

Adieu, my dear Polly, and believe me, as ever, with the sincerest esteem and regard,

Your truly affectionate friend,

and humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. My love to Mrs. Tickell and Mrs. Rooke, and to Pitty, when you write to her. Mrs. Franklin and Sally desire to be affectionately remembered to you.

I find the printed poetry I intended to enclose will be too bulky to send. I shall send it by a ship, that goes shortly from hence.

LETTER XLVI.

TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS, BOSTON.

Philadelphia, 13 April, 1763.

LOVING KINSMAN,

You may remember, that about ten years since, when I was at Boston, you and my brother sent directions here to attach on Grant's right to some land here, by virtue of a mortgage given him by one Pitt. Nothing effectual could be done in it at that time, there being a prior mortgage undischarged. That prior mortgage is now near expiring, and Grant's will take place. Pitt's widow is desirous of being enabled to sell the place, which cannot be done, without paying off Grant's mortgage. Therefore, if your old demand against Grant still subsists, you may empower me in any manner you think proper to recover it.

Is Grant living? Or, if dead, are there any of his representatives among you? Inquire. Because here is a person desirous of purchasing, who, perhaps, may inquire them out, and get a discharge from them, before your claim is brought forward, unless the attachment formerly made in your behalf is still good, which I am inclined to think may be.

I am going in a few days to Virginia, but expect to be back in three or four weeks. However, send what you have to say on this subject to my son, at Burling-

ton, who was formerly empowered by you, and he will take the steps necessary, if I should not be returned.*

I am your loving uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XLVII.

To MISS STEVENSON.

Woodbridge, New Jersey, 10 June, 1763.

I wrote to my dear friend's good mamma to-day, and said I should hardly have time to write to you; but finding a spare half hour, I will indulge myself in the

* By the following letter from William Franklin to Mr. Jonathan Williams, it would appear, that he had then just been appointed governor of New Jersey, and was about establishing himself in that colony.

"Burlington, 7 April, 1763.

"DEAR KINSMAN,

"I am much obliged to you for your very affectionate letter of congratulation, and should have acknowledged the receipt of it sooner, but that I have been at Philadelphia for some weeks past, much engaged in business.

"I arrived at this place last week, but am obliged to take lodgings, as there is not at present a house to be hired here. Whether I shall fix at Burlington, or at Amboy, is at present uncertain; but wherever it may be, it will always afford me great pleasure to see you there, if you should happen to come to New Jersey. Mrs. Franklin joins in affectionate regards to yourself and family with

"Your assured friend

"and humble servant,

"W. FRANKLIN."

pleasure of spending it with you. I have just received your most agreeable epistle of March 11th. The ease, the smoothness, the purity of diction, and delicacy of sentiment, that always appear in your letters, never fail to delight me ; but the tender filial regard you constantly express for your old friend is particularly engaging. Continue, then, to make him happy from time to time with that sweet intercourse ; and take, in return, all he can give you, his sincerest wishes for you of every kind of felicity.

I hope that by the time this reaches you, an account will arrive of your dear Pitty's safe landing in America among her friends. Your Dolly, too, I hope, has perfectly recovered her health, and then nothing will remain to give you uneasiness or anxiety. Heaven bless you, and believe me ever, my dear child,

Your affectionate friend
and humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XLVIII.

TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

Woodbridge, New Jersey, 11 June, 1763.

LOVING KINSMAN,

I am now on my way to New England, and hope soon for the pleasure of seeing my friends there.

I left at home two boxes to be sent to Boston, directed to your care. Please to receive them and pay the freight for me, and place them where they may not be much tumbled about, as they contain some things that may receive damage. I hear the vessel they go in is to sail this day.

My love to your good wife and children.

I am affectionately yours,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XLIX.

TO MISS STEVENSON.

New York, 27 June, 1763.

DEAR POLLY,

I received here your kind little letter of April 14th, with your good mamma's favor of the same date. I write this line chiefly to acknowledge it, having wrote to you lately, and little now to add. I congratulated you on your Dolly's recovery, which you mention as nearly completed, — assuring you, that I do, as you suppose, participate your pleasure. Tell her that the old American loves her ; and all that agreeable family, that he remembers and honors them.

I am glad you are pleased with your new neighbours ; those you left you used to like, and as Wanstead is in itself a more pleasant place than Kensington, you must have suffered greatly by the exchange, if those you found there were disagreeable.

I am ashamed to send a letter so far with so little in it. In some future letter I will endeavour to make amends. My respectful compliments to your good aunts. I am, as ever, my dear friend,

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER L.

TO WILLIAM GREENE, WARWICK, RHODE ISLAND.

Providence, 19 July, 1763.

DEAR SIR,

From the very hospitable and kind treatment we met with at your house, I must think it will be agreeable to you to hear, that your guests got well in before the rain. We hope you and Mrs. Greene were likewise safe at home before night, and found all well. We all join in the most cordial thanks and best wishes, and shall be glad on every occasion to hear of the welfare of you and yours.

I beg you will present our compliments to your good neighbour, Captain Fry, and tell him we shall always retain a grateful remembrance of his civilities.

The soreness in my breast seems to diminish hourly. To rest and temperance I ascribe it chiefly, though the bleeding had doubtless some share in the effect. We purpose setting out to go to Wrentham this afternoon, in order to make an easy day's journey into Boston to-morrow.

Present our respects to Mrs. Ray, and believe me,
with much esteem, dear Sir,

Your obliged, and most obedient,
humble servant,
B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LI.

TO MRS. CATHERINE GREENE.

Boston, 1 August, 1763.

DEAR FRIEND,

I ought to acquaint you, that I feel myself growing daily firmer and freer from the effects of my fall, and hope a few days more will make me quite forget it. I shall, however, never forget the kindness I met with at your house on that occasion.

Make my compliments acceptable to your Mr. Greene, and let him know, that I acknowledge the receipt of his obliging letter, and thank him for it. It gave me great pleasure to hear you got home before the rain.

My compliments, too, to Mr. Merchant and Miss Ward, if they are still with you ; and kiss the ladies for me. Sally* says, *And for me too*. She adds her best respects to Mr. Greene and you, and that she

* Dr. Franklin's only daughter, who was afterwards married to Mr. Richard Bache, a merchant of Philadelphia.

could have spent a week with you with great pleasure, if I had not hurried her away.

My brother is returned to Rhode Island. Sister Mecom thanks you for your kind remembrance of her, and presents her respects.

With perfect esteem and regard I am, dear Katy
(I can't yet alter my style to "Madam"),

Your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LII.

TO MRS. CATHERINE GREENE.

Boston, 5 September, 1763.

DEAR FRIEND,

On my returning hither from Portsmouth, I find your obliging favor of the 18th past, for which I thank you.

I am almost ashamed to tell you, that I have had another fall, and put my shoulder out. It is well reduced again, but is still affected with constant, though not very acute pain. I am not yet able to travel rough roads, and must lie by awhile, as I can neither hold reins nor whip with my right hand till it grows stronger.

Do you think, after this, that even your kindest invitations and Mr. Greene's can prevail with me to

venture myself again on such roads? And yet it would be a great pleasure to me to see you and yours once more.

Sally and my sister Mecom thank you for your remembrance of them, and present their affectionate regards.

My best respects to good Mr. Greene, Mrs. Ray, and love to your little ones. I am glad to hear they are well, and that your Celia goes alone.

I am, dear friend,

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LIII.

TO MRS. CATHERINE GREENE.

Philadelphia, 10 November, 1768.

DEAR KATY,

I should ask Mr. Greene's permission now to call you so, which I hope he will give me, making allowance for the strength of old habits. This is to acquaint you and him, that your guests, after a very pleasant journey, got well home on the 5th instant, without the least ill accident, and had the additional happiness of finding their friends all well. Mr. Greene's good nature and yours will be pleased to hear this, and therefore I take the first opportunity of writing.

Sally joins me in thanks to you both, for all your kindness to us, and in best wishes of prosperity to you and yours. Please to acquaint Mr. Rufus Greene, that I shall write to him by next post.

I am, dear friend,

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.*

LETTER LIV.

TO MRS. CATHERINE GREENE.

Philadelphia, 15 February, 1764.

DEAR FRIEND,

I have before me your most acceptable favor of December 24th. Public business and our public confusions have so taken up my attention, that I suspect I did not answer it when I received it, but am really not certain; so, to make sure, I write this line to acknowledge the receiving of it, and to thank you for it.

* To another friend he wrote, soon after his return; —

“I find myself at present quite clear from pain, and so have at length left off the cold bath. There is, however, still some weakness in my shoulder, though much stronger than when I left Boston, and mending. I am otherwise very happy in being at home, where I am allowed to know when I have eat enough and drunk enough, am warm enough, and sit in a place that I like, &c., and nobody pretends to know what I feel better than I do myself. Don't imagine that I am a whit the less sensible of the kindness I experienced among my friends in New England. I am very thankful for it, and shall always retain a grateful remembrance of it.”

I condole with you on the death of the good old lady, your mother. Separations of this kind from those we love are grievous ; but 'tis the will of God, that such should be the nature of things in this world. All that ever were born are either dead, or must die. It becomes us to submit, and to comfort ourselves with the hope of a better life and more happy meeting hereafter.

Sally kept to her horse the greatest part of the journey, and was much pleased with the tour. She often remembers, with pleasure and gratitude, the kindnesses she met with, and received from our friends every where, and particularly at your house. She talks of writing by this post ; and my dame sends her love to you, and thanks for the care you took of her old man, but, having bad spectacles, cannot write at present.

Mr. Kent's compliment is a very extraordinary one, as he was obliged to kill himself and two others in order to make it ;—but, being killed in imagination only, they and he are all got alive and well, thanks to God, and I hope will continue so as long as,

Dear Katy,

Your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. My best respects to Mr. Greene, and love "to the little dear creatures."—I believe the instructions relating to the postoffice have been sent to Mr. Rufus Greene.

LETTER LV.

To Miss STEVENSON.

Philadelphia, 14 March, 1764.

DEAR POLLY,

I have received your kind letters of August 30th and November 16th. Please to return my thanks, with those of my friend, to Mr. Stanley for his favor in the music, which gives great satisfaction. I am glad to hear of the welfare of the Blount family, and the addition it has lately received ; and particularly that your Dolly's health is mended. Present my best respects to them, and to the good Doctor and Mrs. Hawkesworth, when you see them.

I believe you were right in dissuading your good mother from coming hither. The proposal was a hasty thought of mine, in which I considered only some profit she might make by the adventure, and the pleasure to me and my family from the visit ; but forgot poor Polly, and what her feelings must be on the occasion, and perhaps did not sufficiently reflect, that the inconveniences of such a voyage, to a person of her years and sex, must be more than the advantages could compensate.

I am sincerely concerned to hear of Mrs. Rooke's long continued affliction with that cruel gout. My best wishes attend her and good Mrs. Tickell. Let me hear from you as often as you can afford it. You

can scarce conceive the pleasure your letters give me. Blessings on his soul, that first invented writing, without which I should, at this distance, be as effectually cut off from my friends in England, as the dead are from the living. But I write so little, that I can have no claim to much from you. Business, public and private, devours all my time. I must return to England for repose. With such thoughts I flatter myself, and need some kind friend to put me often in mind, that old trees cannot safely be transplanted.

Adieu, my amiable friend, and believe me ever

Yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LVI.

TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

Philadelphia, 21 April, 1764.

LOVING KINSMAN,

I have received yours of the 12th instant. As to the mistake I mentioned, I find on revisal, that it was not in your account, but in my eyes, which mistook one figure for another. I wrote to you from Burlington, that I should pay your order in favor of Robinson, as soon as I returned to town, which I accordingly did.

I should be glad to know what sum your government has paid for the bounty on wheat last year, if you can get at it easily.

It grieves me that the glasses are not yet come for the Armonica. How does cousin Josiah go on with his spinnet? But I make no doubt he improves very fast.

We all join in love to you and all yours.

I am your affectionate uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LVII.

To Miss STEVENSON.

Philadelphia, 4 May, 1764.

DEAR POLLY,

Since making up my packet for your good mother, I have received your favor of the 1st of March, and have only time now to acknowledge it, the bearer, Mrs. Empson, being just going to the ship; but I purpose writing to you fully by next week's packet. I beg leave to recommend her to your friendly advice and civilities, as she is a daughter of one of my good friends and neighbours, and will be quite a stranger in London.

I am, my dear friend,

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. The verses on Vanity extremely pretty.

LETTER LVIII.

TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

Philadelphia, 24 May, 1764.

DEAR KINSMAN,

The bearer is the Reverend Mr. Rothenbuler, minister of a new Calvinist German Church, lately erected in this city. The congregation is but poor at present, being many of them new comers, and, (like other builders) deceived in their previous calculations, they have distressed themselves by the expense of their building ; but as they are an industrious, sober people, they will be able in time to afford that assistance to others, which they now humbly crave for themselves.

His business in Boston is to petition the generous and charitable among his Presbyterian brethren for their kind benefactions. As he will be a stranger in New England, and I know you are ready to do every good work, I take the freedom to recommend him and his business to you, for your friendly advice and countenance. The civilities you show him shall be acknowledged as done to

Your affectionate uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LIX.

TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

Philadelphia, 3 November, 1764.

LOVING KINSMAN,

The case of the Armonica came home to-night, and the spindle, with all the rest of the work, seems well done. But on further consideration, I think it is not worth while to take one of them to London, to be filled with glasses, as we intended. It will be better to send you one complete from thence, made under my direction ; which I will take care shall be good. The glasses here will serve for these cases when I come back, if it please God that I live to return, and some friends will be glad of them.

Enclosed I send you that impostor's letter. Perhaps he may be found by his handwriting.

We sail on Wednesday. The merchants here in two hours subscribed eleven hundred pounds to be lent the public for the charges of my voyage, &c. I shall take with me but a part of it, five hundred pounds sterling. Any sum is to be had, that I may want.*

My love to all. — Adieu.

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

* Dr. Franklin was appointed on this second mission to England by the Assembly of Pennsylvania, October 26th, 1764, and he was instructed to depart with all convenient despatch. As the

LETTER LX.

To Miss STEVENSON.

December, 1764.

I have once more the pleasure of writing a line to my dear Polly, from Craven Street, where I arrived on Monday evening, in about thirty days from Philadelphia. Your good mamma was not at home, and the maid could not tell where to find her; so I sat me down and waited her return, when she was a good deal surprised to find me in her parlour.

Assembly had not then in the treasury any money, that could be appropriated for this purpose, they passed a resolve, "that the expense attending his voyage, and the execution of the trust reposed in him, should be provided for in the next bill prepared by the House for raising money to defray the public debts." On the strength of this pledge, the money was loaned by the merchants, although a party had made a considerable opposition to the appointment of an agent, who was known to be hostile to the proprietaries, and had been active in promoting petitions for a change of the Pennsylvania government.

Dr. William Smith, a learned and eloquent divine, and provost of Philadelphia College, afterwards wrote, "that under whatsoever circumstances this second embassy was undertaken, it appears to have been a measure preordained in the counsels of Heaven; and it will be for ever remembered to the honor of Pennsylvania, that the agent selected to assert and defend the rights of a single province, at the court of Great Britain, became the bold asserter of the rights of America in general, and, beholding the fetters that were forging for her, conceived the magnanimous thought of rending them asunder before they could be rivetted."—*Votes of the Pennsylvania Assembly, October 26th, 1764.*—*Franklin's Works*, Vol. I. p. 203.

She has this afternoon received a letter from you, and we rejoice to hear that you and our other friends at Bromley are all well. My love to good Dr. and Mrs. Hawkesworth, and to your amiable friends the Misses Blount. Your mamma joins with me in every affectionate sentiment, and bids me tell you, that she is indeed but poorly, yet better than she was when you left her.

I am, as ever, my dear friend,
Yours affectionately,
B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LXI.

TO MISS STEVENSON.

Craven Street, 9 January, 1765.

Your good mamma and myself are both of opinion, that the Christmas gambols at Bromley last a great deal too long. We expected you three days ago.

Give my compliments to Dr. Hawkesworth, and tell him I have read three or four times, and every time with great pleasure, *his* Dialogue in the Magazine,* between Mr. Selaway and friends in the Club. I call the Dialogue *his*, being sure that nobody else could write it; "*because why the thing speaks for itself.*"

I cannot conceive that any inconvenience can arise from my loving young ladies, and their believing that

* The Gentleman's Magazine for 1764, Vol. xxxiv. p. 559.

I love them. Therefore, you may assure your friend Dolly, that she judges right. I love all good girls, because they are good, and her for one reason more, because you love her.

I am, my dear friend,

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LXII.

TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

London, 28 April, 1766.

DEAR COUSIN,

I have received several of your kind favors, since my arrival in England, the last by your good brother, the subject not in the least disagreeable, as you apprehend, but in truth it has not been at all in my power to do what you desired ; if for no other reason, yet for this, that there has been no vacancy.

I congratulate you on the repeal of that mother of mischiefs, the Stamp Act, and on the ease we are likely to obtain in our commerce. My time has been extremely taken up, as you may imagine, in these general affairs of America, as well as in the particular one of our province. Yet I did not forget the Armonica for cousin Josiah ; but with all my endeavours, I have not yet been able to procure one. Here is only

one man, that makes them well ; his price no less than thirty-four guineas, and he asks forty. I bid him one hundred guineas for three ; he refused it. I then agreed to give him the thirty-four guineas for one. He promised to make it, now a twelve-month since. I have called on him often, till I am tired, and do not find that he has yet done a glass of it. If I could have got this, Josiah should have had it, or mine. But I fear it will not be got at all. And I hope his waiting till my return, though it may seem long, will be no disadvantage, as all his improvement on the organ, in the mean time, will go towards his better playing on the Armonica when he gets it.

I rejoice to hear of the welfare and increase of your family. I pray God to bless them all and you.

Your affectionate uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Sister Mecom speaks very affectionately of you, and gratefully of your kindness to her in her late troubles.

The bearer, Mr. Sears, is entering into business as a merchant here. He is a friend of mine, and I recommend him to your acquaintance and civilities.*

* On the 1st of March, 1766, he wrote to a friend in America ; " As to the reports you mention, that are spread to my disadvantage, I give myself as little concern about them as possible. I have often met with such treatment from people, that I was all the while endeavouring to serve. At other times I have been extolled extravagantly where I had little or no merit.

LETTER LXIII.

To Miss STEVENSON.

26 March, 1767.

We want to hear how our dear Polly does, after the loss of her two great teeth together ; whether the jaw is easy and not swelled.

Sir Charles Blount called in Craven Street last night, and we learnt with pleasure, that your friend Dolly, and all that family were well. Dr. Hawkesworth is to spend this evening there, and I am mortified that I cannot be with them.

Your good mamma bade me send you the enclosed verses, and so I scribbled this line, just to let you know we are well. Present my compliments to Mrs. Tickell, and believe me ever

Your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Dr. and Mrs. Hawkesworth are to drink

These are the operations of nature. It sometimes is cloudy, it rains, it hails ; again it is clear and pleasant, and the sun shines on us. Take one thing with another, and the world is a pretty good sort of a world, and 'tis our duty to make the best of it, and be thankful. One's true happiness depends more upon one's own judgment of one's self, or a consciousness of rectitude in action and intention, and the approbation of those few, who judge impartially, than upon the applause of the unthinking, undiscerning multitude, who are apt to cry *Hosanna* to-day, and to-morrow, *Crucify him*."

tea with us on Tuesday. It is said to be clever to kill two birds with one stone. You may make three or four more alive by one little visit at the same time.

LETTER LXIV.

TO MISS STEVENSON.

Craven Street, 16 May, 1767.

MY DEAR POLLY,

I have just received yours of yesterday. I wish I could come to you on Sunday, to spend the afternoon and evening with you and that agreeable family, and return with you on Monday. But I am too busy to spare two days without great inconvenience. On Monday, between two and three, you may expect me. But then you will hold yourself ready to set out homewards at six, that we may be in town before night, and have time, after you have seen your mother, to go to Kensington; for you cannot conveniently lodge here, Sally being again ill with a fever.

Tell the good Dr. and Mrs. Hawkesworth, that I love them as I ought, and as every body ought, and you may whisper Dolly that I love her a little more; I hardly know why, but one sometimes has odd fancies. Present my respectful compliments to your hostess, and believe me ever

Your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LXV.

To Miss STEVENSON.

Craven Street, 17 June, 1767.

We were greatly disappointed yesterday, that we had not the pleasure, promised us, of our dear Polly's company.

Your good mother would have me write a line in answer to your letter. A muse, you must know, visited me this morning ! I see you are surprised, as I was. I never saw one before — and shall never see another, — so I took the opportunity of her help to put the answer into verse, because I was some verse in your debt ever since you sent me the last pair of garters.

This muse appeared to be no housewife. I suppose few of them are. She was *dressed* (if the expression is allowable) in an *undress*, a kind of slatternly *negligé*, neither neat and clean, nor well made ; and she has given the same sort of dress to my piece. On reviewing it, I would have reformed the lines, and made them all of a length, as I am told lines ought to be ; but I find I can't lengthen the short ones without stretching them on the rack, and I think it would be equally cruel to cut off any part of the long ones. Besides, the superfluity of *these* makes up for the deficiency of *those* ; and so, from a principle of justice, I leave them at full length, that I may

give you, at least in one sense of the word, *good measure*.

Adieu, my dear good girl, and believe me ever
Your affectionate, faithful friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LXVI.

TO MISS STEVENSON.

Paris, 14 September, 1767.

DEAR POLLY,

I am always pleased with a letter from you, and I flatter myself you may be sometimes pleased in receiving one from me, though it should be of little importance, such as this, which is to consist of a few occasional remarks made here, and in my journey hither.

Soon after I left you in that agreeable society at Bromley, I took the resolution of making a trip with Sir John Pringle into France. We set out on the 28th past. All the way to Dover we were furnished with post-chaises, hung so as to lean forward, the top coming down over one's eyes, like a hood, as if to prevent one's seeing the country; which being one of my great pleasures, I was engaged in perpetual disputes with the innkeepers, ostlers, and postilions, about getting the straps taken up a hole or two before, and let down as much behind, they insisting that the

chaise leaning forward was an ease to the horses, and that the contrary would kill them. I suppose the chaise leaning forward looks to them like a willingness to go forward, and that its hanging back shows reluctance. They added other reasons, that were no reasons at all, and made me, as upon a hundred other occasions, almost wish that mankind had never been endowed with a reasoning faculty, since they know so little how to make use of it, and so often mislead themselves by it, and that they had been furnished with a good sensible instinct instead of it.

At Dover, the next morning, we embarked for Calais with a number of passengers, who had never before been at sea. They would previously make a hearty breakfast, because, if the wind should fail, we might not get over till supper time. Doubtless they thought, that when they had paid for their breakfast they had a right to it, and that when they had swallowed it they were sure of it. But they had scarce been out half an hour, before the sea laid claim to it, and they were obliged to deliver it up. So that it seems there are uncertainties, even beyond those between the cup and the lip. If ever you go to sea, take my advice, and live sparingly a day or two beforehand. The sickness, if any, will be lighter and sooner over. We got to Calais that evening.

Various impositions we suffered from boatmen, porters, and the like, on both sides the water. I know not which are most rapacious, the English or French, but the latter have, with their knavery, most politeness.

The roads we found equally good with ours in England, in some places paved with smooth stones, like our new streets, for many miles together, and rows of trees on each side, and yet there are no turn-pikes. But then the poor peasants complained to us grievously, that they were obliged to work upon the roads full two months in the year, without being paid for their labor. Whether this is truth, or whether, like Englishmen, they grumble, cause or no cause, I have not yet been able fully to inform myself.

The women we saw at Calais, on the road, at Boulogne, and in the inns and villages, were generally of dark complexions; but arriving at Abbeville we found a sudden change, a multitude of both women and men in that place appearing remarkably fair. Whether this is owing to a small colony of spinners, wool-combers, and weavers, brought hither from Holland with the woollen manufactory about sixty years ago, or to their being less exposed to the sun, than in other places, their business keeping them much within doors, I know not. Perhaps, as in some other cases, different causes may club in producing the effect, but the effect itself is certain. Never was I in a place of greater industry, wheels and looms going in every house.

As soon as we left Abbeville, the swarthinness returned. I speak generally; for here are some fair women at Paris, who, I think, are not whitened by art. As to rouge, they don't pretend to imitate nature

in laying it on. There is no gradual diminution of the color, from the full bloom in the middle of the cheek to the faint tint near the sides, nor does it show itself differently in different faces. I have not had the honor of being at any lady's toilette to see how it is laid on, but I fancy I can tell you how it is or may be done. Cut a hole of three inches diameter in a piece of paper ; place it on the side of your face in such a manner, as that the top of the hole may be just under the eye ; then, with a brush dipped in the color, paint face and paper together ; so when the paper is taken off, there will remain a round patch of red exactly the form of the hole. This is the mode, from the actresses on the stage upwards through all ranks of ladies to the princesses of the blood ; but it stops there, the Queen not using it, having in the serenity, complacency, and benignity, that shine so eminently in, or rather through her countenance, sufficient beauty, though now an old woman, to do extremely well without it.

You see I speak of the Queen as if I had seen her ; and so I have, for you must know I have been at court. We went to Versailles last Sunday, and had the honor of being presented to the King ; he spoke to both of us very graciously and very cheerfully, is a handsome man, has a very lively look, and appears younger than he is. In the evening we were at the *Grand Concert*, where the family sup in public. The table was half a hollow square, the service gold.

When either made a sign for drink, the word was given by one of the waiters. *A boire pour le Roi*, or, *A boire pour la Reine*. Then two persons came from within, the one with wine and the other with water in *carafes*; each drank a little glass of what he brought, and then put both the *carafes* with a glass on a salver, and then presented it. Their distance from each other was such, as that other chairs might have been placed between any two of them. An officer of the court brought us up through the crowd of spectators, and placed Sir John so as to stand between the Queen and Madame Victoire. The king talked a good deal to Sir John, asking many questions about our royal family; and did me too the honor of taking some notice of me; that is saying enough; for I would not have you think me so much pleased with this king and queen, as to have a whit less regard than I used to have for ours. No Frenchman shall go beyond me in thinking my own king and queen the very best in the world, and the most amiable.

Versailles has had infinite sums laid out in building it and supplying it with water. Some say the expenses exceeded eighty millions sterling. The range of buildings is immense; the garden-front most magnificent, all of hewn stone; the number of statues, figures, urns, &c. in marble and bronze of exquisite workmanship, is beyond conception. But the water-works are out of repair, and so is great part of the front next the town, looking with its shabby, half-

brick walls, and broken windows, not much better than the houses in Durham Yard. There is, in short, both at Versailles and Paris, a prodigious mixture of magnificence and negligence, with every kind of elegance except that of cleanliness, and what we call *tidiness*. Though I must do Paris the justice to say, that in two points of cleanliness they exceed us. The water they drink, though from the river, they render as pure as that of the best spring, by filtering it through cisterns filled with sand ; and the streets with constant sweeping are fit to walk in, though there is no paved footpath. Accordingly, many well-dressed people are constantly seen walking in them. The crowds of coaches and chairs for this reason is not so great. Men, as well as women, carry umbrellas in their hands, which they extend in case of rain or too much sun ; and, a man with an umbrella not taking up more than three foot square, or nine square feet of the street, when, if in a coach, he would take up two hundred and forty square feet, you can easily conceive that though the streets here are narrow, they may be much less encumbered. They are extremely well paved, and the stones, being generally cubes, when worn on one side, may be turned and become new.

The civilities we everywhere receive give us the strongest impressions of the French politeness. It seems to be a point settled here universally, that strangers are to be treated with respect ; and one has

just the same deference shown one here by being a stranger, as in England by being a lady. The custom-house officers at Port St. Denis, as we entered Paris, were about to seize two dozen of excellent Bordeaux wine given us at Boulogne, and which we brought with us; but as soon as they found we were strangers, it was immediately remitted on that account. At the Church of Notre Dame, when we went to see a magnificent illumination, with figures, &c. for the deceased Dauphiness, we found an immense crowd, who were kept out by guards; but the officer being told, that we were strangers from England, he immediately admitted us, accompanied and showed us every thing. Why don't we practise this urbanity to Frenchmen? Why should they be allowed to outdo us in any thing?

Here is an exhibition of painting, like ours in London, to which multitudes flock daily. I am not connoisseur enough to judge which has most merit. Every night, Sundays not excepted, here are plays or operas; and though the weather has been hot, and the houses full, one is not incommoded by the heat so much as with us in winter. They must have some way of changing the air, that we are not acquainted with. I shall inquire into it.

Travelling is one way of lengthening life, at least in appearance. It is but about a fortnight since we left London, but the variety of scenes we have gone through makes it seem equal to six months living in

one place. Perhaps I have suffered a greater change, too, in my own person, than I could have done in six years at home. I had not been here six days, before my tailor and perruquier had transformed me into a Frenchman. Only think what a figure I make in a little bag-wig and with naked ears! They told me I was become twenty years younger, and looked very gallant.

This letter shall cost you a shilling, and you may consider it cheap, when you reflect, that it has cost me at least fifty guineas to get into the situation, that enables me to write it. Besides, I might, if I had stayed at home, have won perhaps two shillings of you at cribbage. By the way, now I mention cards, let me tell you that quadrille is now out of fashion here, and English whist all the mode at Paris and the court.

And pray look upon it as no small matter, that, surrounded as I am by the glories of the world, and amusements of all sorts, I remember you and Dolly, and all the dear good folks at Bromley. 'Tis true, I can't help it, but must and ever shall remember you all with pleasure.

Need I add, that I am particularly, my dear good friend,

Yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LXVII.

TO MISS STEVENSON.

Friday Morning, 9 October, 1767.

I write this line just to acquaint my dear Polly, that I left her amiable friend Miss Henckell well at Calais on Wednesday noon, waiting for good weather to come over. She has been four months at Spa. She inquired concerning Miss Stevenson's health and welfare in the most tender and affectionate manner, and will be disappointed at not finding you at Bromley.

We got home well last night. My respectful compliments to Mrs. Tickell.

I am, as ever, my dear friend,

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LXVIII.

TO MISS STEVENSON.*

Craven Street, 28 September, 1768.

DEAR POLLY,

The objection you make to rectifying our alphabet, "that it will be attended with inconveniences and difficulties," is a natural one ; for it always occurs when

* Dr. Franklin had contrived a scheme for a new alphabet, in which, by the use of six new characters and certain changes in

any reformation is proposed, whether in religion, government, laws, and even down as low as roads and wheel-carriages. The true question, then, is not whether there will be any difficulties or inconveniences, but whether the difficulties may not be surmounted, and whether the conveniences will not, on the whole, be greater than the inconveniences. In this case, the difficulties are only in the beginning of the practice. When they are overcome, the advantages are lasting. To either you or me, who spell well in the present mode, I imagine the difficulty of changing that mode for the new is not so great, but that we might perfectly get over it in a week's time.

As to those, who do not spell well, if the two difficulties are compared, namely, that of teaching them true spelling in the present mode, and that of teaching them the new alphabet, and the new spelling according to it, I am confident that the latter would be by far the least. They naturally fall into the new method already, as much as the imperfection of their alphabet will admit of. Their present bad spelling is only bad, because contrary to the present bad rules. The difficulty of learning to spell well in the old way is so great, that few attain it, thousands and thousands writing on to old age, without ever being able to acquire it. It is,

the vowels, all the words in the language would be spelled according to the natural sounds of the letters. He amused himself with teaching this alphabet to Miss Stevenson, and the present letter was written in the characters of the new scheme. It is here transcribed in the common orthography.

~~As it is~~ a difficulty continually increasing, as the sound gradually varies more and more from the spelling, and to foreigners it makes the learning to pronounce our language, as written in our books, almost impossible.

Now, as to the *inconveniences* you mention, the first is, "that all our etymologies would be lost, and consequently we could not ascertain the meaning of many words." Etymologies are at present very uncertain; but such as they are, the old books would still preserve them, and etymologists would there find them. Words in the course of time change their meanings, as well as their spelling and pronunciation, and we do not look to etymology for their present meanings. If I should call a man a *knave* and a *villain*, he would hardly be satisfied with my telling him, that one of the words originally signified only a lad or servant; and the other an under-ploughman, or the inhabitant of a village. It is from present usage only, that the meaning of words is to be determined.

Your second inconvenience is, that "the distinction between words of different meaning and similar sound would be destroyed." That distinction is already destroyed in pronouncing them; and you rely on the sense alone of the sentence to ascertain which of the several words, similar in sound, we intend. If this is sufficient in the rapidity of discourse, it will be much more so in written sentences, which may be read leisurely, and attended to more particularly in case of difficulty, than you can attend to a past sentence, while a speaker is hurrying you along with new ones.

Your third inconvenience is, that “all the books already written would be useless.” This inconvenience would only come on gradually, in a course of ages. You, and I, and other now living readers, would hardly forget the use of them. People would long learn to read the old writing, though they practised the new. And the inconvenience is not greater, than what has actually happened in a similar case in Italy. Formerly, its inhabitants all spoke and wrote Latin; as the language changed, the spelling followed it. It is true, that, at present, a mere unlearned Italian cannot read the Latin books, though they are still read and understood by many. But, if the spelling had never been changed, he would now have found it much more difficult to read and write his own language, for written words would have had no relation to sounds, they would only have stood for things; so that, if he would express in writing the idea he has, when he sounds the word *Vescovo*, he must use the letters *Episcopus*. In short, whatever the difficulties and inconveniences now are, they will be more easily surmounted now, than hereafter; and some time or other it must be done, or our writing will become the same with the Chinese, as to the difficulty of learning and using it. And it would already have been such, if we had continued the Saxon spelling and writing, used by our forefathers.

I am, my dear friend,

Yours affectionately,

10*

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LXIX.

TO MISS STEVENSON.

October, 1768.

I see very clearly the unhappiness of your situation, and that it does not arise from any fault in you. I pity you most sincerely. I should not, however, have thought of giving you advice on this occasion, if you had not requested it, believing, as I do, that your own good sense is more than sufficient to direct you in every point of duty to others and yourself. If, then, I should advise you to any thing, that may be contrary to your own opinion, do not imagine, that I shall condemn you, if you do not follow such advice. I shall only think, that, from a better acquaintance with circumstances, you form a better judgment of what is fit for you to do.

Now, I conceive with you, that ———, both from her affection to you, and from the long habit of having you with her, would really be miserable without you. Her temper, perhaps, was never of the best ; and when that is the case, age seldom mends it. Much of her unhappiness must arise from thence ; and since wrong turns of mind, when confirmed by time, are almost as little in our power to cure, as those of the body, I think with you, that her case is a compassionate one.

If she had, though by her own imprudence, brought on herself any grievous sickness, I know you would think it your duty to attend and nurse her with filial

tenderness, even were your own health to be endangered by it. Your apprehension, therefore, is right, that it may be your duty to live with her, though inconsistent with your happiness and your interest ; but this can only mean present interest, and present happiness ; for I think your future, greater, and more lasting interest and happiness will arise from the reflection, that you have done your duty, and from the high rank you will ever hold in the esteem of all that know you, for having persevered in doing that duty, under so many and great discouragements.

My advice, then, must be, that you return to her as soon as the time proposed for your visit is expired ; and that you continue, by every means in your power, to make the remainder of her days as comfortable to her as possible. Invent amusements for her ; be pleased when she accepts of them, and patient when she perhaps peevishly rejects them. I know this is hard, but I think you are equal to it ; not from any servility of temper, but from abundant goodness. In the mean time, all your friends, sensible of your present uncomfortable situation, should endeavour to ease your burthen, by acting in concert with you, and to give her as many opportunities as possible of enjoying the pleasures of society, for your sake.

Nothing is more apt to sour the temper of aged people, than the apprehension that they are neglected ; and they are extremely apt to entertain such suspicions. It was therefore that I proposed asking her to be of our

late party ; but, your mother disliking it, the motion was dropped, as some others have been, by my too great easiness, contrary to my judgment. Not but that I was sensible her being with us might have lessened our pleasure, but I hoped it might have prevented you some pain.

In fine, nothing can contribute to true happiness, that is inconsistent with duty ; nor can a course of action, conformable to it, be finally without an ample reward. For, God governs ; and he is *good*. I pray him to direct you ; and, indeed, you will never be without his direction, if you humbly ask it, and show yourself always ready to obey it.

Farewell, *my* dear friend, and believe me ever sincerely and affectionately *yours*,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LXX.

TO MISS STEVENSON.

Thursday, 20 October, 1768.

DEAR POLLY,

Last night your good mother received the enclosed letters from Mr. T. Henckell, and answered him that we should all be happy to have his company, and appointed him to be at our house in Craven Street, at half after seven, on Saturday morning, that we might set out by eight.

Our reason for going so early is, that, having the day before us, we may do our business, and dine in

time, so as to be back by daylight. There is otherwise danger of our being benighted, as the days are now short, and you know I don't love travelling in the dark, after a day of pleasure, thinking it like a bad epilogue to a good play. The company now is, Mrs. Stevenson and Polly, Dolly and Mr. Henckell, Mr. and Mrs. and Miss Wilkes, Dr. Rush, and

Your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. The above list makes nine. Mr. or Mrs. Viney will perhaps join us, but that is not yet certain.*

* Extract from a letter to a lady in America.

“London, 27 April, 1769.

—“Mrs. Stevenson has executed your order, and sends the things in a bandbox directed to you. A new-fashioned something, that was not ready when the box was packed up, is enclosed in her letter.

“I am now grown too old to be ambitious of such a station, as that which you say has been mentioned to you. Repose is more fit for me, and much more suitable to my wishes. There is no danger of such a thing being offered to me, and I am sure I shall never ask it. But even if it were offered, I certainly could not accept it, to act under such instructions, as I know must be given with it. So you may be quite easy on that head.

“The account you write of the growing industry, frugality, and good sense of my countrywomen, gives me more pleasure than you can imagine; for from thence I presage great advantages to our country. I should be sorry that you are engaged in a business, which happens not to coincide with the general interest, if you did not acquaint me that you are now near the end of it.”

The allusion above is to a report, which Dr. Franklin's enemies spread abroad, that he was disposed to accept an office under the

LETTER LXXI.

TO MISS STEVENSON.

Tuesday Morning, 27 June, 1769.

DEAR POLLY,

Agreeably to your orders, delivered to me very punctually by Temple, I return you enclosed Voltaire's verses. The translation I think full as good as the original. Remember that I am to have them again.

I take this opportunity to send you, also, a late paper containing a melancholy account of the distresses of some seamen. You will observe in it the advantages they received from wearing their clothes constantly wet with salt water, under the total want of fresh water to drink. You may remember I recommended this practice many years ago. Do you know

British government, at the same time that he was acting as an agent to sustain the rights of his country against the encroachments of that government. There never were any grounds for such a report. The ministry, no doubt, would have been glad to win such a champion to their side, and it has been said, that the office of under-secretary of state was held out as an allurements. This was probably the station, which his correspondent had mentioned, as hinted at in the above extract. But this letter is proof enough, that there was no foundation for such a surmise. Indeed, all his correspondence and other writings of that period, and particularly the papers that are contained in the second part of this volume, indicate opinions, a tone of feeling, and a course of conduct, as far removed as possible from any tendency to abet the acts and doctrines of the British government respecting the colonies. The contrary is every where and uniformly manifest.

Dr. *Len*, and did you communicate it to him? I fancy his name is wrong spelt in this paper, and that it should be *Lind*, having seen in the Review some extracts from a book on sea-diseases, published within these two or three years, by one Dr. Lind; but I have not seen the book, and know not whether such a passage be in it.

I need not point out to you an observation in favor of our doctrine, that you will make on reading this paper, that, *having little to eat*, these poor people in wet clothes day and night *caught no cold*.

My respects to your aunt, and love to all that love you.

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.*

* In writing to a friend in America, February 23d, 1769, he expressed himself in the following characteristic manner concerning the nature and tendency of religious disputation.

“Your political disputes I have no objection to, if they are carried on with tolerable decency, and do not become outrageously abusive. They make people acquainted with their rights, and the value of them. But your squabbles about a bishop I wish to see speedily ended. They seem to be unnecessary at present, as the design of sending one is dropped; and if it were not dropped, I cannot think it a matter of such moment, as to be a sufficient reason for division among you, when there never was more need of your being united. I do not conceive, that bishops residing in America would either be of such advantage to Episcopalians, or such disadvantage to Anti-episcopalians, as either seem to imagine.

“Each party abuses the other; the profane and the infidel believe both sides, and enjoy the fray; the reputation of religion in general suffers, and its enemies are ready to say, not what was

LETTER LXXII.

To Miss STEVENSON.

Saturday Evening, 2 September, 1769.

Just come home from a venison feast, where I have drunk more than a philosopher ought, I find my dear Polly's cheerful, chatty letter, that exhilarates me more than all the wine.

Your good mother says there is no occasion for any intercession of mine in your behalf. She is sensible that she is more in fault than her daughter. She received an affectionate, tender letter from you, and she has not answered it, though she intended to do it; but her head, not her heart, has been bad, and unfitted her for writing. She owns that she is not so good a subject as you are, and that she is more unwilling to pay tribute to Cæsar, and has less objection to smug-

said in the primitive times, *Behold how these Christians love one another*, — but, *Mark how these Christians HATE one another!* Indeed, when religious people quarrel about religion, or hungry people about their victuals, it looks as if they had not much of either among them."

In speaking of the death of an acquaintance, in 1773, he says, — "Your neighbour must have been pretty well advanced in years when he died. I remember him a young man when I was a very young boy. In looking back, how short the time seems! I suppose that all the passages of our lives, that we have forgotten, being so many links taken out of the chain, give the more distant parts leave, as it were, to come apparently nearer together."

gling ; but 'tis not, she says, mere selfishness or avarice ; 'tis rather an honest resentment at the waste of those taxes in pensions, salaries, perquisites, contracts, and other emoluments for the benefit of people she does not love, and who do not deserve such advantages, because — I suppose. — because they are not of her party.

Present my respects to your good landlord and his family. I honor them for their conscientious aversion to illicit trading. There are those in the world, who would not wrong a neighbour, but make no scruple of cheating the king. The reverse, however, does not hold ; for whoever scruples cheating the king will certainly not wrong his neighbour.

You ought not to wish yourself an enthusiast. They have, indeed, their imaginary satisfactions and pleasures, but these are often balanced by imaginary pains and mortification. You can continue to be a good girl, and thereby lay a solid foundation for expected future happiness, without the enthusiasm that may perhaps be necessary to some others. As those beings, who have a good sensible instinct, have no need of reason, so those, who have reason to regulate their actions, have no occasion for enthusiasm. However, there are certain circumstances in life, sometimes, where it is perhaps best not to hearken to reason. For instance ; possibly, if the truth were known, I have reason to be jealous of this same insinuating, handsome young physician ; but as it flatters

more my vanity, and therefore gives me more pleasure, to suppose you were in spirits on account of my safe return, I shall turn a deaf ear to reason in this case, as I have done with success in twenty others. But I am sure you will always give me reason enough to continue ever

Your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Our love to Mrs. Tickell. We shall long for your return. Your Dolly was well last Tuesday ; the girls were there on a visit to her ; I mean at Bromley. Adieu.

No time now to give you any account of my French journey.

LETTER LXXIII.

TO MISS STEVENSON.

Craven Street, 23 January, 1770.

DEAR POLLY,

I received your favor of Saturday, early this morning, and am as usual much obliged by the kind readiness with which you have done what I requested.

Your good mother has complained more of her head since you left us than ever before. If she stoops, or looks, or bends her neck downwards, on any occasion, it is with great pain and difficulty, that she gets her head up again. She has, therefore, borrowed a breast and neck collar of Mrs. Wilkes, such as misses wear, and now uses it to keep her

head up. Mr. Strahan has invited us all to dine there to-morrow, but she has excused herself. Will you come, and go with me? If you cannot well do that, you will at least be with us on Friday.

As to my own head, which you so kindly inquire after, its swimming has gradually worn off, and to-day for the first time I felt nothing of it on getting out of bed. But as this speedy recovery is, as I am fully persuaded, owing to the extreme abstemiousness I have observed for some days past at home, I am not without apprehensions, that, being to dine abroad this day, to-morrow, and next day, I may inadvertently bring it on again, if I do not think of my little monitor and guardian angel, and make use of the proper and very pertinent clause she proposes, in my grace. Here comes a morning visitor. Adieu. My best respects to Mrs. Tickell.

I am, my dear friend,

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LXXIV.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

London, 15 March, 1770.

DEAR SISTER,

I received your kind little letter of January 3d from Philadelphia. I am glad your visit thither proves agreeable to you. Since your family is so much

reduced, I do not see why you might not as well continue there, if you like the place equally with Boston. It would be a pleasure to me to have you near me ; but your own discretion must govern you. I propose, God willing, to return this summer.

With true regard, I am ever

Your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LXXV.

TO A FRIEND IN AMERICA.

London, 18 March, 1770.

DEAR SIR,

Your very judicious letter of November 26th, being communicated by me to some member of Parliament, was handed about among them, so that it was some time before I got it again into my hands. It had due weight with several, and was of considerable use. You will see that I printed it at length in the London Chronicle, with the merchants' letter. When the American affairs came to be debated in the House of Commons, the majority, notwithstanding all the weight of ministerial influence, was only sixty-two for continuing the whole last act ; and would not have been so large, nay, I think the repeal would have been carried, but that the ministry were persuaded by Governor Bernard, and some lying letters said to be from Boston, that the associations not to import were all breaking to

pieces, that America was in the greatest distress for want of the goods, that we could not possibly subsist any longer without them, and must of course submit to any terms Parliament should think fit to impose upon us. This, with the idle notion of the dignity and sovereignty of Parliament, which they are so fond of, and imagine will be endangered by any farther concessions, prevailed, I know, with many, to vote with the ministry, who, otherwise, on account of the commerce, wish to see the difference accommodated.

But though both the Duke of Grafton and Lord North were and are, in my opinion, rather inclined to satisfy us, yet the Bedford party are so violent against us, and so prevalent in the Council, that more moderate measures could not take place. This party never speak of us but with evident malice ; “rebels” and “traitors” are the best names they can afford us, and I believe they only wish for a colorable pretence and occasion of ordering the soldiers to make a massacre among us.

On the other hand, the Rockingham and Shelburne people, with Lord Chatham's friends, are disposed to favor us if they were again in power, which at present they are not like to be ; though they, too, would be for keeping up the claim of parliamentary sovereignty, but without exercising it in any mode of taxation. Besides these, we have for sincere friends and well-wishers the body of dissenters generally, throughout England, with many others, not to mention Ireland and all the rest of Europe, who, from various motives,

join in applauding the spirit of liberty, with which we have claimed and insisted on our privileges, and wish us success, but whose suffrage cannot have much weight in our affairs.

The merchants here were at length prevailed on to present a petition, but they moved slowly, and some of them, I thought, reluctantly ; perhaps from a despair of success, the city not being much in favor with the court at present. The manufacturing towns absolutely refused to move at all ; some pretending to be offended with our attempting to manufacture for ourselves ; others saying, that they had employment enough, and that our trade was of little importance to them, whether we continued or refused it. Those, who began a little to feel the effects of our forbearing to purchase, were persuaded to be quiet by the ministerial people, who gave out that certain advices were received of our beginning to break our agreements ; of our attempts to manufacture proving all abortive and ruining the undertakers ; of our distress for want of goods, and dissensions among ourselves, which promised the total defeat of all such kind of combinations, and the prevention of them for the future, if the government were not urged imprudently to repeal the duties. But now that it appears from late and authentic accounts, that agreements continue in full force, that a ship is actually returned from Boston to Bristol with nails and glass (articles that were thought of the utmost necessity), and that the ships which were waiting

here for the determination of Parliament, are actually returning to North America in their ballast, the tone of the manufacturers begins to change, and there is no doubt, that, if we are steady and persevere in our resolutions, these people will soon begin a clamor, that much pains has hitherto been used to stifle.

In short, it appears to me, that if we do not now persist in this measure till it has had its full effect, it can never again be used on any future occasion with the least prospect of success, and that, if we do persist another year, we shall never afterwards have occasion to use it.

With sincere regards, I am, dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LXXVI.

TO MISS STEVENSON.

Thursday, 31 May, 1770.

DEAR POLLY,

I received your letter early this morning, and as I am so engaged, that I cannot see you when you come to-day, I write this line just to say, that I am sure you are a much better judge in this affair of your own, than I can possibly be.* In that confidence it was,

* Alluding to a proposal from Mr. Hewson, a physician of London, to whom Miss Stevenson was soon afterwards married.

that I forbore giving my advice, when you mentioned it to me, and not from any disapprobation. My concern (equal to any father's) for your happiness makes me write this, lest, having more regard for my opinion than you ought, and imagining it against the proposal because I did not immediately advise accepting it, you should let that weigh any thing in your deliberations.

I assure you, that no objection has occurred to me. His person you see ; his temper and understanding you can judge of ; his character, for any thing I have ever heard, is unblemished ; his profession, with the skill in it he is supposed to have, will be sufficient to support a family ; and, therefore, considering the fortune you have in your hands (though any future expectation from your parent should be disappointed), I do not see but that the agreement may be a rational one on both sides.

I see your delicacy, and your humility too, for you fancy that if you do not prove a great fortune, you will not be loved ; but I am sure, were I in his situation in every respect, knowing you so well as I do, and esteeming you so highly, I should think you a fortune sufficient for me without a shilling.

Having thus, more explicitly than before, given my opinion, I leave the rest to your sound judgment, of which no one has a greater share ; and I shall not be too inquisitive after your particular reasons, your doubts, your fears, and the like. For I shall be con-

fidest, whether you accept or refuse, that you do right. I only wish you may do what will most contribute to your happiness, and of course to mine ; being ever, my dear friend,

Yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Don't be angry with me for supposing your determination not quite so fixed as you fancy it.*

LETTER LXXVII.

TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

London, 6 June, 1770.

DEAR COUSIN,

Your favor of January 8th came duly to hand, but I have been so much engaged during the sitting of Parliament, that I could not correspond regularly with

* Dr. Franklin seems not to have had great confidence in the efficacy of advice. To a person, who once wrote to him on this head respecting a young man under his charge, he replied ;—

“As to my reproving and advising him, which you desire, he has not hitherto appeared to need it, which is lucky, as I am not fond of giving advice, having seldom seen it taken. An Italian poet, in his account of a voyage to the moon, tells us, that

All things lost on earth are treasured there.

On which somebody observed, there must then be in the moon a great deal of *good advice*.”

all my friends, and have of course trespassed most with those on whose good nature and indulgence I could most rely. I am, however, ashamed of being so long silent. It was but the other day, that I inquired after the fate of your tickets, when I received the enclosed answer, whereby you will see that the whole cost has not been lost. I only wished to see three O's more following the sum. I have not any further orders from you, but think to take at a venture two tickets more on your account. If you disapprove and choose to rest where you are, signify it by a line, before the drawing, directed to Messrs. Smith, Wright, and Grey, who may then dispose of the tickets.

I am glad to hear the old gentleman, your father, is still alive and happy. Please to remember me to him respectfully. Probably he can recollect but little of me, as it is a good deal more than half a century since he has seen me ; but I remember him well, a lively, active, handsome young man, with a fine full flowing head of hair. I suppose he must now be near fourscore.

If I could have given you any intimation of the intentions of government, with regard to America, that might be depended upon, you should have had them in good time for use, in the views of trade you hint at. But there have been this winter such changes of men, and of minds, and such continual expectations of more and other changes, that nothing was certain ; and I believe that to this day the ministry are not all

of a mind, nor determined what are the next steps proper to be taken with us. Some are said to be for severe, others for lenient measures ; others for leaving things as they now are, in confidence that we shall soon be tired of our non-importation agreements, manufacturing schemes, and self-denying frugalities, submit to the duties, and return by degrees to our dear luxuries and idleness, with our old course of commercial extravagance, folly, and good humor. Which of these opinions will prevail and be acted on, 'tis impossible yet to say. I only know, that generally the dispute is thought a dangerous one, and that many wish to see it well compromised in time, lest by a continuance of mutual provocations the breach should become past healing.

I am much obliged to you and cousin Hubbard for your kindness to my friend Hughes, of which he informed me, with many expressions of gratitude for your civilities. He would have been very happy in that station, and in your acquaintance so nigh him ; but he is now removed to Carolina.

My love to your good wife and children, and believe me ever

Your affectionate uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LXXVIII.

TO SAMUEL FRANKLIN, BOSTON.*

London, 8 June, 1770.

LOVING COUSIN,

I received your kind letter of the 23d of March. I was happy to find that neither you, nor any of your family, were in the way of those murderers.† I hope that before this time the town is quite freed from such dangerous and mischievous inmates.

I rejoice to hear that you and your good wife and children continue in health. My love to them. I still enjoy a considerable share of that blessing, thanks to God, and hope once more to see Boston and my friends there before I die. I left it first in 1723. I made a visit there in 1733; another in 1743; another in 1753; another in 1763. Perhaps if I live to 1773, I may then call again and take my leave.‡

* The grandson of Dr. Franklin's father's brother Benjamin.

† Alluding to the tragical scene in the streets of Boston on the 5th of March, commonly called the *massacre*, when Captain Preston's troops fired upon the inhabitants, and killed three persons.

‡ Dr. Franklin wrote from Passy, May 12th, 1784, when, after stating the same facts, he added; — "In 1773 I was in England; in 1775, I had a sight of Boston, but could not enter, it being in possession of the enemy. I did hope to have been there in 1783, but could not obtain my dismissal from this employment here; and now I fear I shall never have that happiness. My best wishes,

Our relation, Sally Franklin, is still with me here, is a very good girl, and grown up almost a woman. She sends her love to you and yours.*

I am, with sincere regard,

Your affectionate cousin,

B. FRANKLIN.

however, attend my dear country. *Esto perpetua*. It is now blest with an excellent constitution. May it last forever!"

Although Dr. Franklin visited Boston at the above mentioned decennial periods, he was there likewise at intermediate times.

* Sally Franklin was a distant relation, whom he found in England. In a letter written to one of his family connexions in America, July 17th, 1771, he thus speaks of her;—

"Sally Franklin has lived with me these five years, a very good girl, now sixteen. She is great-granddaughter of our father's brother John, who was a dyer at Banbury in Oxfordshire, where our father learnt that trade of him, and where our grandfather Thomas lies buried. I saw his grave-stone. Sally's father, John's grandson, is now living at Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, where he follows the same business, his father too being bred a dyer, as was our uncle Benjamin. He is a widower, and Sally his only child. These two are the only descendants of our grandfather Thomas now remaining in England, that retain the name of Franklin."

Dr. Franklin's grandfather had nine children, eight of whom were sons, and his father seventeen. It is believed, that there is not now living a single descendant of Franklin's grandfather in the male line, or bearing that name. From the above extract it seems probable, that there is none such in England, and it is not known that there has been living for many years in this country any descendant by the name of Franklin from Dr. Franklin's father or uncles.

Dr. Franklin was the fifteenth child and the youngest son, and was born in Boston, January 6th, 1706. He was married to Deborah Read, of Philadelphia, September 1st, 1730. He had two chil-

LETTER LXXIX.

To MRS. HEWSON.

London, 24 July, 1770.

DEAR POLLY,

I wrote a few lines to you last week, in answer to yours of the 15th, since which I have been in the country ; and, returning yesterday, found your good mother was come home, and had got a letter from you of the 20th. She has just put it into my hands, and desired me to write to you, as she is going into the city with Miss Barwell to buy things. Whether she will have time to write herself, or whether, if she had, she would get over her natural aversion to writing, I cannot say. I rather think she will content herself with your knowing what she should say, and would say, if she wrote ; and with my letting you know, that she is well, and very happy in hearing that you are so.

Your friends are all much pleased with your account of the agreeable family, their kind reception and entertainment of you, and the respect shown you ;

dren by this marriage, — a son, named Francis Folger, who died at the age of four years, — and a daughter, named Sarah, born September 11th, 1744. This daughter was married to Mr. Bache on the 29th of October, 1767, and died October 5th, 1808, aged sixty-four. She had seven children, namely, Benjamin Franklin, William, Elizabeth, Louis, Deborah, Richard, and Sarah. The three last are still living, and the descendants of Mrs. Bache, through these seven children, have already become numerous. Dr. Franklin's wife died December the 19th, 1774.

only Dolly and I, though we rejoice and shall do so in every thing that contributes to your happiness, are now and then in low spirits, supposing we have lost each a friend. Barwell says she conceives nothing of this ; and that we must be two simpletons to entertain such imaginations. I showed her your letter to your mother, wherein you say, "Dolly is a naughty girl, and, if she does not mend, I shall turn her off ; for I have got another Dolly now, and a very good Dolly too." She begged me not to communicate this to Dolly, for though said in jest, yet, in her present state of mind, it would hurt her. I suppose that it was for the same good-natured reason, that she refused to show me a paragraph of your letter to Dolly, that had been communicated by Dolly to her.

July 25th. The above was written yesterday, but, being interrupted, I could not finish my letter in time for the post ; though I find I had little to add. Your mother desires me to express abundance of affection for you, and for Mr. Hewson ; and to say all the proper things for her, with respect to the rest of your friends there. But you can imagine better than I can write. Sally and little Temple * join in best wishes of prosperity to you both. Make my sincerest respects acceptable to Mr. Hewson, whom, exclusive of his other merits, I shall always esteem in proportion to the regard he

* William Temple Franklin, son of William Franklin, governor of New Jersey.

manifests for you. Barwell tells me, that your aunt had received his letter, and was highly pleased with it and him; so I hope all will go well there; and I shall take every opportunity of cultivating her good disposition, in which I think you used to be sometimes a little backward, but you always had your reasons.

I am apt to love every body that loves you, and therefore I suppose I shall in time love your new mother, and new sister, and new Dolly. I find I begin to like them already, and if you think proper you may tell them so. But your old Dolly and I have agreed to love each other better than ever we did, to make up as much as we can our supposed loss of you. We like your assurance of continued friendship, unimpaired by your change of condition, and we believe you think as you write; but we fancy we know better than you. You know I once knew your heart better than you did yourself. As a proof that I am right, take notice — that you now think this the silliest letter I ever wrote to you, and that Mr. Hewson confirms you in that opinion.

However, I am still what I have been so many years, my dear good girl,

Your sincerely affectionate friend and servant,
B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LXXX.

TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

London, 5 March, 1771.

LOVING COUSIN,

I suppose Jonathan has told you, that the lottery is drawn, and your two new tickets had the same success as the former, namely, one twenty-pound prize, and one blank. Would you go on any further?

Josiah is very happy in being under the tuition of Mr. Stanley, who very kindly undertook him at my request, though he had left off teaching. Josiah goes constantly, too, to several concerts, besides operas and oratorios, so that his thirst for music is in a way of being thoroughly satiated. This is his principal expense; for in all other respects I never saw two young men from America more prudent and frugal, than he and his brother are.

Jonathan seems to have an excellent turn for business, and to be a perfect master of accounts. In the latter he has been of great use to me, having put all mine in order for me. There is a proposal from his uncle of his going to East India, as a writer in the Company's service, which I wish may take place, as I think, if he lives, he cannot fail bringing home a fortune. He had ordered a cargo of goods to be sent you for cousin Wood's shop, and had given expectations of paying ready money. But, one of your

bills being protested, there seemed a necessity of asking some credit of the merchant. I advised him to take what was wanting of me, rather than fail in punctuality to his word, which is sacred here among all that would maintain a character in trade. He did so; and thereby also saved the discount, without putting me to the least inconvenience, provided the money is replaced in six months, and I was glad I had it in my power to accommodate him.

I hope you have before this time got another tenant for your house, and at the former rent. However, I would have you go on advancing to my sister the amount of it, as I am persuaded she cannot well do without it. She has, indeed, been very unfortunate in her children.

I am glad to hear, that, as soon as the weather permits, the tomb will receive a thorough repair. Your kind care in this matter will greatly oblige

Your affectionate uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LXXXI.

TO MRS. WILLIAMS.

London, 5 March, 1771.

DEAR COUSIN,

I received your kind letter by your sons. They are, I assure you, exceeding welcome to me ; and they behave with so much prudence, that no two young men could possibly less need the advice you would have me give them. Josiah is very happily employed in his musical pursuits. And as you hinted to me, that it would be agreeable to you, if I employed Jonathan in writing, I requested him to put my accounts in order, which had been much neglected. He undertook it with the utmost cheerfulness and readiness, and executed it with the greatest diligence, making me a complete new set of books, fairly written out and settled in a mercantile manner, which is a great satisfaction to me, and a very considerable service. I mention this, that you may not be in the least uneasy from an apprehension of their visit being burthensome to me ; it being, I assure you, quite the contrary.

It has been wonderful to me to see a young man from America, in a place so full of various amusements as London is, as attentive to business, as diligent in it, and keeping as close at home till it was finished, as if it had been for his own profit ; and as

if he had been at the public diversions so often, as to be tired of them.

I pray God to keep and preserve you, and give you again, in due time, a happy sight of these valuable sons ; — being

Your affectionate uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LXXXII.

TO SAMUEL FRANKLIN.

London, 12 July, 1771.

LOVING COUSIN,

I received your kind letter of May 17th, and rejoice to hear that you and your good family are well. My love to them.

With this I send you the print you desire for Mr. Bowen. He does me honor in accepting it.

Sally Franklin presents her duty to you and Mrs. Franklin. Yesterday a very odd accident happened, which I must mention to you, as it relates to your grandfather. A person, that deals in old books, of whom I sometimes buy, acquainted me, that he had a curious collection of pamphlets bound in eight volumes folio, and twenty-four volumes quarto and octavo, which he thought, from the subjects, I might like to have, and

that he would sell them cheap. I desired to see them, and he brought them to me. On examining, I found that they contained all the principal pamphlets and papers on public affairs, that had been printed here from the restoration down to 1715. In one of the blank leaves at the beginning of each volume the collector had written the titles of the pieces contained in it, and the price they cost him. Also notes in the margin of many of the pieces; and the collector, I find, from the handwriting and various other circumstances, was your grandfather, my uncle Benjamin. Wherefore, I the more readily agreed to buy them. I suppose he parted with them, when he left England and came to Boston, soon after your father, which was about the year 1716 or '17, now more than fifty years since. In whose hands they have been all this time I know not. The oddity is, that the bookseller, who could suspect nothing of any relation between me and the collector, should happen to make me the offer of them.

My love to your good wife and children.

Your affectionate cousin,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LXXXIII.

TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

London, 25 August, 1771.

DEAR COUSIN,

I have received yours of July 8th and 12th, with the bills, which are carried to your credit. I hope your son Jonathan may be with you by this time. Josiah is well, and sticks close to his business.

I have not time to add more, being this minute setting out on a short trip to Ireland, to visit some American friends, or rather friends to America, and take that portion of exercise and fresh air, which is every year necessary to my health. My love to your spouse and children.

I am sincerely

Your affectionate uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LXXXIV.

TO MRS. HEWSON.

Preston, 25 November, 1771.

DEAR FRIEND,

I came to this place on Saturday night, right well and untired with a seventy miles' journey. That day I met with your and my Dolly's joint letter, which

would have refreshed me with its kindness if I had been ever so weary.

The account you give of a certain lady's having entertained a new gallant, in my absence, did not surprise me ; for I have been used to rivals, and scarce ever had a friend or a mistress in my whole life, that other people did not like as well as myself. And, therefore, I did not wonder when I read in the newspapers some weeks since, that "the Duke of C." (that general lover) "had made many visits of late to an old lady not many miles from Craven Street." I only wondered, considering the dislike she used to have for the family, that she would receive his visits. But as I saw, soon after, that Prince Charles had left Rome, and was gone a long journey, nobody knew whither, I made no doubt but the newswriters had mistaken the person, and that it was he, who had taken the opportunity of my absence to solace himself with his old friend.

I thank you for your intelligence about my godson. I believe you are sincere, when you say you think him as fine a child as you wish to see. He had cut two teeth, and three, in another letter, make five ; for I know you never write tautologies. If I have overreckoned, the number will be right by this time. His being like me in so many particulars pleases me prodigiously ; and I am persuaded there is another, which you have omitted, though it must have occurred to you, while you were putting them down. Pray let

him have every thing he likes. I think it of great consequence, while the features of the countenance are forming ; it gives them a pleasant air, and that being once become natural and fixed by habit, the face is ever after the handsomer for it, and on that much of a person's good fortune and success in life may depend. Had I been crossed as much in my infant likings and inclinations, as you know I have been of late years, I should have been, I was going to say, not near so handsome, but as the vanity of that expression would offend other folks' vanity, I change it, out of regard to them, and say, a great deal more homely.

I rejoice that your good mother's new regimen succeeds so well with her. We are to set out, my son and I, to-morrow for London, where I hope to be by the end of the week, and to find her, and you, and all yours well and happy. My love to them all. They tell me dinner is coming in, and I have yet said nothing to Dolly ; but must nevertheless conclude, my dear friend,

Yours ever most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. I am very happy here in the pleasant family of Mr. Burke's mother and sister.

TO MISS DOROTHEA BLOUNT.

DEAR DOLLY,

I love you more than you can imagine.

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LXXXV.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

London, 13 January, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,

I received your kind letters of September 12th, and November 9th. I have now been some weeks returned from my journey through Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and the North of England, which, besides being an agreeable tour with a pleasant companion, has contributed to the establishment of my health ; and this is the first ship I have heard of, by which I could write to you.

I thank you for the receipts ; they are as full and particular as one could wish ; but they can easily be practised only in America, no bay-berry wax, nor any Brasileto, being here to be had, at least to my knowledge. I am glad, however, that those useful arts, which have so long been in our family, are now put down in writing. Some future branch may be the better for it.

It gives me pleasure, that those little things sent by Jonathan proved agreeable to you. I write now to cousin Williams to press the payment of the bond. There has been forbearance enough on my part ; seven years or more, without receiving any principal or interest. It seems as if the debtor was like a whimsical man in Pennsylvania, of whom it was said

that, it being against his principle to pay interest, and against his interest to pay the principal, he paid neither one nor the other.

I doubt you have taken too old a pair of glasses, being tempted by their magnifying greatly. But people in choosing should only aim at remedying the defect. The glasses that enable them to see *as well*, at the *same distance* they used to hold their book or work, while their eyes were good, are those they should choose; not such as make them see *better*, for such contribute to hasten the time when still older glasses will become necessary.

All, who have seen my grandson, agree with you in their accounts of his being an uncommonly fine boy, which brings often afresh to my mind the idea of my son Franky,* though now dead thirty-six years, whom I have seldom since seen equalled in every thing, and whom to this day I cannot think of without a sigh. Mr. Bache is here; I found him at Preston, in Lancashire, with his mother and sisters, very agreeable people, and I brought him to London with me. I very much like his behaviour. He returns in the next ship to Philadelphia. The gentleman, who brought your last letter, Mr. Fox, stayed but a few minutes with me, and has not since called, as I desired him to do.

* His son, Francis Folger, who died when four years of age.

I shall endeavour to get the arms you desire for cousin Coffin. Having many letters to write, I can now only add my love to cousin Jenny, and that I am, as ever,

Your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Sally Franklin presents her duty. Mrs. Stevenson desires to be affectionately remembered. No arms of the Folgers are to be found in the Herald's Office. I am persuaded it was originally a Flemish family, which came over with many others from that country in Queen Elizabeth's time, flying from the persecution then raging there.

LETTER LXXXVI.

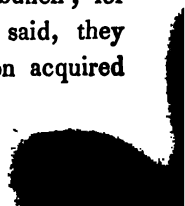
TO SAMUEL FRANKLIN.

London, 13 January, 1772.

DEAR COUSIN,

I received your kind letter of November 8th, and rejoice to hear of the continued welfare of you and your good wife and four daughters. I hope they will all get good husbands. I dare say they will be educated so as to deserve them.

I knew a wise old man, who used to advise his young friends to choose wives out of a bunch; for where there were many daughters, he said, they improved each other, and from emulation acquired



more accomplishments, knew more, could do more, and were not spoiled by parental fondness, as single children often are. Yours have my best wishes, and blessing, if that can be of any value.

I received a very polite letter from your friend, Mr. Bowen, relating to the print. Please to present him my respectful compliments. I am just returned from a long journey.

Your affectionate cousin,

B. FRANKLIN.


LETTER LXXXVII.

To MRS. HEWSON.

Birmingham, 8 July, 1772.

DEAR POLLY,

I arrived here yesterday, in my return from the North. This morning I had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 6th. I am sorry that my engagements here will not permit me to be in London on the anniversary of your wedding-day; but I repeat my wishes of happiness to you on that occasion, and pray that you may have many returns of that day, each happier than its predecessor, from a reflection on the constant felicity the nuptial state has afforded you.



I must request Mr. Hewson to get the machine sent by Osborne, if possible. The direction will be the same with that of the enclosed letter.

I rejoice to hear of all your welfares. My love to all. I hope to be in town on Sunday.

I am, my dear friend,

Yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LXXXVIII.

TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

London, 11 August, 1772.

DEAR COUSIN,

I received yours of July 4th, with the bill enclosed of two hundred pounds for your brother, which I delivered to him accordingly. Calling in here at the New England Coffee-House, and finding this ship just upon sailing, I would not miss the opportunity of giving you this information, though I cannot now write to my other friends.

It grieves me to hear that poor Josiah is in so bad a state of health. But being young, it is to be hoped he may weather it.

My love to my dear sister, and to cousin Grace and your family. I shall write to Jonathan by the next opportunity. I am

Your affectionate uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER LXXXIX.

TO A FRIEND IN AMERICA.

[Extract.]

London, 26 September, 1774.

—I hope you continue in health, as I do, thanks to God. But I wish to know how you fare in the present distress of our dear country. I am apprehensive, that the letters between us, though very innocent ones, are intercepted. They might restore to me yours at least, after reading them ; especially as I never complain of broken, patched-up seals (of late very common), because I know not on whom to fix the fact.

I see in a Boston paper of August 18th, an article expressing, “ that it is generally believed Dr. Franklin has received a promise of being restored to the royal favor, and promoted to an office superior to that which he resigned.” I have made no public answer to any of the abuses I have received in the papers here, nor shall I to this. But as I am anxious to preserve your good opinion, and as I know your sentiments, and that you must be much afflicted yourself, and even despise me, if you thought me capable of accepting any office from this government, while it is acting with so much hostility towards my native country, I cannot miss this first opportunity of assuring you, that there is not the least foundation for such a report ; that, so far from having any promise of royal favor, I hear of

nothing but royal and ministerial displeasure, which, indeed, as things at present stand, I consider as an honor. I have seen no minister since January, nor had the least communication with them. The generous and noble friends of America in both Houses do indeed favor me with their notice and regard ; but they are in disgrace at court, as well as myself. Be satisfied, that I shall do nothing to lessen me in your esteem, or my own. I shall not, by the least concurrence with the present measures, merit any court-favor, nor accept of any, if it were offered me, which, however, is not at all likely to happen.

As those here, who most interest themselves in behalf of America, conceive that my being present at the arrival of the proceedings of the Congress and the meeting of Parliament, may be of use, I submit to their judgment, and think it now likely that I shall not return till spring.

I am ever, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

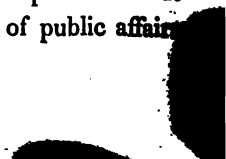
LETTER XC.

TO MRS. HEWSON.

Philadelphia, 8 July, 1775.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your kind letter of April 14th. It grieves me, that the present situation of public affairs



makes it not eligible for you to come hither with your family, because I am sure you would otherwise like this country, and might provide better here for your children, at the same time that I should be made more happy by your neighbourhood and company. I flatter myself, that this may yet happen, and that our public disputes may be ended by the time your private business is settled to your mind, and then we may be all happy together.*

The debt you mention of mine to Bolton remains unpaid through his own neglect. I was charged by Matthews ten pounds for the tea-kitchen, but Bolton told me I ought not to pay so much ; that he would see what it should be when he got home, and send me word, which he never did. I dunned him for it by letters, as often as Matthews sent to me, but received no answer.

I take it kindly of my godson, that he should remember me ; my love to him. I am glad to hear the dear children are all well through the measles. I have much delight in my godsons. Mr. and Mrs. Bache join in love to yours. Ben,† when I delivered him your blessing, inquired the age of Elizabeth, and thought her yet too young for him ; but as he made no other objection, and that will lessen every day,

* Mrs. Hewson was now a widow, her husband having died in May, 1774. An aunt, lately deceased, had left to her a considerable fortune.

† Benjamin Franklin Bache, grandson of Dr. Franklin.

I have only to wish being alive to dance with your mother at the wedding.

Temple was much obliged by your kind remembrance of him. He is now very happy with his father at Amboy, near New York, but returns to me in September, to prosecute his studies in our college.

I am much pleased with the contribution letter, and thank you for your share of it. I am still well and hearty, and never went through more business than I do at present. God knows when I shall be permitted to enjoy the repose I wish. Adieu, my very dear friend. Continue your pleasing correspondence, and believe me ever

Yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

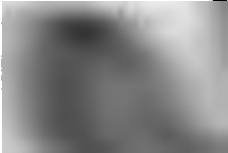
LETTER XCI.

TO MRS. HEWSON, LONDON.

Paris, 12 January, 1777.

MY DEAR, DEAR POLLY,

Figure to yourself an old man with gray hair, appearing under a martin fur-cap, among the powdered heads of Paris. It is this odd figure that salutes you, with handfulls of blessings on you and your dear little ones.



On my arrival here, Mademoiselle Biheron gave me great pleasure in the perusal of a letter from you to her. It acquainted me that you and yours were well in August last. I have with me here my young grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, a special good boy. I shall give him a little French language and address, and then send him over to pay his respects to Miss Hewson.

My love to all that love you, particularly to dear Dolly. I am ever, my dear friend,

Your affectionate

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Temple, who attends me here, presents his respects. I must contrive to get you to America. I want all my friends out of that wicked country. I have just seen in the paper seven paragraphs about me, of which six were lies.

LETTER XCII.

TO MRS. HEWSON.

Paris, 26 January, 1777.

DEAR POLLY,

I wrote a few lines to you by Dr. B., and have since seen your letter to Jonathan, by which I have the great pleasure of learning, that you and yours were well on the 17th.

What is become of my and your dear Dolly? Have you parted? for you mention nothing of her. I know your friendship continues; but perhaps she is with one of her brothers. How do they all do?

I have not yet received a line from my dear old friend, your mother. Pray tell me where she is, and how it is with her. Jonathan, who is now at Nantes, told me that she had a lodging in Northumberland Court. I doubt her being comfortably accommodated there.

Is Miss Barwell a little more at rest; or as busy as ever? Is she well? And how fares it with our good friends of the Henckell family?

But, principally, I want to know how it is with you. I hear you have not quite settled yet with those people. I hope, however, that you have a sufficient income, and live at your ease, and that your money is safe out of the funds. Does my godson remember any thing of his Doctor papa? I suppose not. Kiss the dear little fellow for me, — not forgetting the others. I long to see them and you.

What became of the lottery ticket I left with your good mother, which was to produce the diamond earrings for you? Did you get them? If not, Fortune has wronged you, for you *ought* to have had them.

I am, my dear friend, ever yours,
with sincere esteem and affection,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. *January 27th.* They tell me, that, in writing to a lady from Paris, one should always say something about the fashions. Temple observes them more than I do. He took notice, that at the ball in Nantes, there were no heads less than five and a few were seven lengths of the face, above the top of the forehead. You know that those who have practised drawing, as he has, attend more to proportions, than people in common do. Yesterday we dined at the Duke de Rochefoucauld's, where there were three duchesses and a countess, and no head higher than a face and a half. So, it seems, the farther from court, the more extravagant the mode.

LETTER XCIII.

TO MRS. GREENE.

Paris, 28 February, 1778.

MY DEAR OLD FRIEND,

Don't be offended at the word *old*. I don't mean to call you an *old woman*; it relates only to the age of our friendship; which, on my part, has always been a sincerely affectionate one, and, I flatter myself, the same on yours.

I received your kind letter from Boston of October 28th, which gave me great pleasure, as it informed me of the welfare of you and your family. I continue hearty, as do my two grandsons, who present their

respects to you and Mr. Greene, being pleased with your remembrance of them. We are all glad to hear of Ray, for we all love him. I have been often much concerned for my friends at Warwick, hearing that the enemy was so near them. I hope your troubles will not be of much longer duration; for, though the wickedness of the English court, and its malice against us, are as great as ever, its horns are shortened, its strength diminishes daily, and we have formed an alliance here, and shall form others, that will help to keep the Bull quiet, and make him orderly.

I chat, you see, as usual, any how with you, who are kind enough never to criticize improprieties in my compositions, or any thing else. I see by yours that my sister's granddaughter is married. I wish the young folks joy and lasting happiness. I pity my poor old sister, to be so harassed and driven about by the enemy; for I feel a little myself the inconvenience of being driven about by my friends.

I live here in great respect, and dine every day with great folks; but I still long for home and for repose; and should be happy to eat Indian pudding in your company, and under your hospitable roof. Remember me kindly to the remainder of the Wards, and to all that wish me well. Assure Mr. Greene of my sincere esteem and respect, and believe me ever,

My dear friend,

Yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XCIV.

TO WILLIAM GREENE, GOVERNOR OF RHODE
ISLAND.

Passy, June, [year uncertain.]

DEAR SIR,

I received your kind letter of December 10th, with the bills of exchange for two hundred and sixteen dollars, and with the list of goods you would have in return. As I live far from any seaport, and am unacquainted with merchandise, I sent the bills with your order directly to my nephew at Nantes, who will, I doubt not, accomplish it to your satisfaction.

I shall be glad of any opportunity of being serviceable to your son-in-law, both for your sake and his father's.

Your letter with the first set of the bills did not come to hand, which I regret the more, as by that means I have lost Mrs. Greene's letter, which you tell me was enclosed. Present my affectionate respects to her; and my love, with that of my grandson, to honest Ray, of whose welfare I am very glad to hear and of his progress in his learning.

If my sister continues under your hospitable roof, let her know that I hope to receive hers of the 7th that you mention. Tell her I have not time now to

write to her, but will by the next opportunity ; and that I am well and love her as well as ever.

With great esteem and respect,

I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient

and most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. If the Chevalier de la Luzerne should pass through your government, I recommend him warmly to your civilities. He goes over to supply the place of M. Gerard, as his Most Christian Majesty's minister to the Congress. He is a gentleman of a most amiable character here, has great connexions, and is a hearty friend to America.

LETTER XCV.

TO JOHN PAUL JONES.

Passy, 10 June, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

I received yours of the 1st instant with the papers enclosed, which I have shown to the other Commissioners ; but have not yet had their opinion of them. I only know, that they had before (in consideration of the disposition and uneasiness of your people) expressed an inclination to order your ship directly back

to America. You will judge from what follows, whether it would not be advisable *for you to propose* their sending her back with her people, and under some other command.

In consequence of the high opinion the Minister of the Marine has of your conduct and bravery, it is now settled (observe that this is to be a secret between us, I being expressly enjoined not to communicate it to any other person, not even to the other gentlemen) that you are to have the frigate from Holland, which actually belongs to government, and will be furnished with as many good French seamen, as you shall require. But you are to act under Congress' commission. As you may like to have a number of Americans, and your own are homesick, it is proposed to give you as many as you can engage out of two hundred prisoners, which the ministry of Britain have at length agreed to give us in exchange for those you have in your hands. They propose to make the exchange at Calais, where they are to bring the Americans. Nothing is wanting to this, but a list of yours containing their names and rank ; immediately on the receipt of which, an equal number are to be prepared and sent in a ship to that port, where yours are to meet them. Pray send this list by the return of the post if possible. If by this means you can get a good new crew, I think it will be best, that you are quite free of the old, for a mixture might introduce the

infection of that sickness you complain of. But this may be left to your discretion.

Perhaps we shall join with you the *Providence*, Captain Whipple, a new continental ship of thirty guns, which, in coming out of the river of Providence, gave the two frigates that were posted to intercept her each of them so heavy a dose of her eighteen and twelve pounders, that they had not the courage, or were not able, to pursue her. The *Boston* is supposed to be gone from Bordeaux.

It seems to be desired, that you should step up to Versailles, (where one will meet you) in order to such a settlement of matters and plans with those, who have the direction, as cannot well be done by letter. I wish it may be convenient to you to do it directly.

The project of giving you the command of this ship pleases me the more, as it is a probable opening to the higher preferment you so justly merit.

I have the honor to be, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XCVI.

To JOHN PAUL JONES.

Passy, 6 September, 1778.

DEAR CAPTAIN,

I received your favors of the 24th and 31st of August. I am told by M. de C., that M. de S. is sorry you did not go with M. d'Orvilliers. He had sent orders for that purpose, and your staying at L'Orient occasioned your missing the opportunity. Your letter was sent to the Prince de Nassau. I am confident something will be done for you, though I do not yet know what.

Dr. Bancroft has been indisposed, and I have not lately seen him; but I hear he is getting better, and suppose he has written. I go out of town early this morning for a few days, but the other Commissioners will answer your letter.

I am glad you have procured a guard for the prisoners. It is a good piece of service. They have concluded in England to send us an equal number of ours, and we expect to-morrow to send the passport for their cartel ship, which is to bring them. If we are to deliver theirs at Calais, I should be for accepting thankfully the offer you mention.

We have no news from America, but what comes through England. Clinton's letter is in the London Gazette, and for style and coloring is so like Keppel's,

that I cannot help thinking neither of them originals, but both the performance of some under-secretary, whose business it is to cook the news for the ministers. Upon the whole, we learn, that the English army was well worried in its march,* and that their whole fleet and forces are now blocked up in New York by Washington and Gates on the land side, and by Count d'Estaing by sea, and that they will soon be in want of provisions. I sympathize with you in what I know you must suffer from your present inactivity ; but have patience.

I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XCVII.

TO MRS. STEVENSON.

25 January, 1779.

It is always with great pleasure, when I think of our long continued friendship, which had not the least interruption in the course of twenty years (some of the happiest of my life), that I spent under your roof and in your company. If I do not write to you as

* The march across New Jersey to New York, after the evacuation of Philadelphia. During this march was fought the battle of Monmouth.

often as I used to do, when I happened to be absent from you, it is owing partly to the present difficulty of sure communication, and partly to an apprehension of some inconvenience, that my correspondence might possibly occasion you. Be assured, my dear friend, that my regard, esteem, and affection for you, are not in the least impaired or diminished ; and that, if circumstances would permit, nothing would afford me so much satisfaction, as to be with you in the same house, and to experience again your faithful, tender care and attention to my interests, health, and comfortable living, which so long and steadily attached me to you, and which I shall ever remember with gratitude.

I thought I had mentioned to you before (and I believe I did, though my letter may have miscarried), that I had received the white cloth suit, the sword, and the saddle for Temple, all in good order. I mention them now again, because Polly tells me you had not heard of their arrival. I wore the clothes a good deal last summer. There is one thing more, that I wish to have, if you should meet with an opportunity of sending it. I mean the copper pot, lined with silver, to roast fowls in by means of a heater. I should also be glad of the piece of elephant's tooth. It is old ivory, perhaps, of the time before the flood, and would be a rarity to some friends here. But I doubt you will not be able to send them.

I rejoice to learn, that your health is established, and that you live pleasantly in a country town, with

agreeable neighbours, and have your dear children about you. My love to every one of them. I long to see them and you ; but the times do not permit me the hope of it. Why do you never write to me ? I used to love to read your letters, and I regret your long silence. They were seasoned with good sense and friendship, and even your spelling pleased me. Polly knows I think the worst spelling the best. I do not write to her by this conveyance. You will let her know, that I acknowledge the receipt of her pleasing letter, dated the 11th instant. I shall now only observe to you upon it, that I know not how the patent can be taken out in Jacobs's name. I am sure he had no claim to it ; for when I first proposed to him the making of such wheels at Mr. Viny's, in the country, he objected to it as impracticable. But Mr. Viny, who seized the thought, and carried it into execution, had certainly the best right to the patent. I wish he would send me a good drawing, with the proportions of the little carriage with horses, which his children came once in to see us. How do they all do, and particularly my little patient Bessum ?

Since my coming here, I have been told, that Mr. Henley, the linen-draper, had said, on my going to America, that I had gone away in his debt. I can hardly believe it. Let me know if you have heard such a thing, and what is the meaning of it. I thought he had been fully paid, and still think so, and shall,

till I am assured of the contrary. Let me know, at the same time, how my account stands with you.

You wish to know how I live. It is in a fine house, situated in a neat village, on high ground, half a mile from Paris, with a large garden to walk in. I have abundance of acquaintance, dine abroad six days in seven. Sundays I reserve to dine at home, with such Americans as pass this way; and I then have my grandson Ben, with some other American children from the school.

If being treated with all the politeness of France, and the apparent respect and esteem of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, can make a man happy, I ought to be so. Indeed, I have nothing to complain of, but a little too much business, and the want of that order and economy in my family, which reigned in it when under your prudent direction. My paper gives me only room to add, that I am ever

Yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER XCVIII.

TO JOHN PAUL JONES.

Passy, 27 April, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

I have, at the request of M. de Sartine, postponed the sending of the *Alliance* to America, and have

ordered her to proceed immediately from Nantes to L'Orient, where she is to be furnished with her complement of men, join your little squadron, and act under your command.

The Marquis de la Fayette will be with you soon. It has been observed, that joint expeditions of land and sea forces often miscarry, through jealousies and misunderstandings between the officers of the different corps. This must happen, where there are little minds, actuated more by personal views of profit or honor to themselves, than by the warm and sincere desire of good to their country. Knowing you both as I do, and your just manner of thinking on these occasions, I am confident nothing of the kind can happen between you, and that it is unnecessary for me to recommend to either of you that condescension, mutual good will, and harmony, which contribute so much to success in such undertakings.

I look upon this expedition as an introduction only to greater trusts, and more extensive commands, and as a kind of trial of both your abilities, and of your fitness in temper and disposition for acting in concert with others. I flatter myself, therefore, that nothing will happen that may give impressions to the disadvantage of either of you, when greater affairs shall come under consideration. As this is understood to be an American expedition, under the Congress' commission and colors, the Marquis, who is a Major-General in that service, has of course the step in point

of rank, and he must have command of the land forces, which are committed by the King to his care ; but the command of the ships will be entirely in you ; in which I am persuaded, that, whatever authority his rank might in strictness give him, he will not have the least desire to interfere with you. There is honor enough to be got for both of you, if the expedition is conducted with a prudent unanimity. The circumstance is indeed a little unusual ; for there is not only a junction of land and sea forces, but there is also a junction of Frenchmen and Americans, which increases the difficulty of maintaining a good understanding. A cool, prudent conduct in the chiefs is, therefore, the more necessary, and I trust neither of you will in that respect be deficient.* With my best wishes for your success, health, and honor,

I remain, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

* The expedition here referred to, which was intended to act on the coast of England, was at length changed by the French government. The following letter on the occasion was written by the Marquis de la Fayette to Paul Jones.

“ Paris, 22 May, 1779.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I dare say you will be very sorry to hear, that the King's dispositions concerning our plan have been quite altered, and that, instead of meeting you, I am now going to take the command of the King's regiment at Saintes. What will be further determined about your squadron is yet uncertain, and the ministers are to consult about it with Dr. Franklin. Political and military reasons have occasioned the alteration of things, and I am only to tell you,

LETTER XCIX.

To JOHN PAUL JONES.

Passy, 8 July, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

I received your favors of the 2d and 4th instant. I am sorry for the accidents, that have obliged your little squadron to return and refit, but I hope all may be for the best. Some days since M. de Chaumont handed to me the substance of a letter in French, which contained heads of the instructions, that M. de Sartine wished me to give you.* I had them translated, and put into the form of a letter to you, which I signed, and gave back to Mr. C., who, I suppose, has sent it to you. I have no other orders to give, for as the court is at the chief expense, I think they have the best right to direct.

my good friend, how sorry I feel not to be a witness of your success, abilities, and glory.

"I hope every thing will be arranged for the best, and the more calculated for the common advantage. Be convinced, Sir, that nothing could gratify me more, than the pleasure of having again something of the kind to undertake with such an officer as Captain Jones. That occasion I shall ever wish for, and shall, I hope, find, before the end of the war.

"With the sincerest affection and esteem, I am, &c.

"LAFAYETTE."

* See these Instructions in the *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution*, Vol. III. p. 77.

I observe what you write about a change of the destination ; but, when a thing has been once considered and determined on in council, they don't care to resume the consideration of it, having much business on hand, and there is not now time to obtain a reconsideration. It has been hinted to me, that the intention of ordering your cruise to finish at the Texel, is with a view of getting out that ship ; but this should be kept a secret.

I can say nothing about Captain Landais' prize. I suppose the minister has an account of it, but I have heard nothing from him about it. If he reclaims it on account of his passport, we must then consider what is to be done. I approve of the careenage proposed for the *Alliance*, as a thing necessary. As she is said to be a remarkably swift sailer, I should hope you might by her means take some privateers, and a number of prisoners, so as to continue the cartel, and redeem all our poor countrymen.

My best wishes ever attend you.

I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER C.

TO A RELATION IN AMERICA.

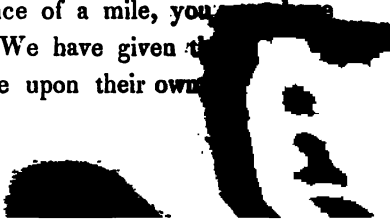
[Extract.]

Passy, 25 October, 1779.

I received your kind letter of February 14th, the contents of which gave me a kind of melancholy satisfaction. The greater ease you will now enjoy makes some compensation in my mind for the uncomfortable circumstance that brought it about. I hope you will have no more affliction of that kind, and that, after so long and stormy a day, your evening may be serene and pleasant.

The account you have had of the vogue I am in here has some truth in it. Perhaps few strangers in France have had the good fortune to be so universally popular; but the story you allude to, mentioning "mechanic rust," is totally without foundation. But one is not to expect being always in fashion. I hope, however, to preserve, while I stay, the regard you mention of the French ladies; for their society and conversation, when I have time to enjoy them, are extremely agreeable.

The enemy have been very near you indeed. When only at the distance of a mile, you have been much alarmed. We have given the taste of this disturbance upon their own



summer ; and though we have burnt none of their towns, we have occasioned a good deal of terror and bustle in many of them, as they imagined our Commodore Jones had four thousand troops with him for descents.

I am glad to learn, that my dear sister continued in good health, and good spirits, and that she had learnt not to be afraid of her friend, fresh air.

With the tenderest affection, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER CI.

TO JOHN PAUL JONES.

Passy, 19 February, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I received yours from Corogne of the 16th past, and from L'Orient of the 13th instant. I rejoice that you are so safely arrived in France, *malgré* all the pains taken to intercept you.

As to the refitting of your ship at the expense of this court, I must acquaint you, that there is not the least probability of obtaining it, and therefore I cannot ask it. I hear too much already of the extraordinary expense you made in Holland, to think of proposing an addition to it, especially as you seem to impute the damage she has sustained more to Captain Lan-

dais' negligence, than to accidents of the cruise. The whole expense will, therefore, fall upon me, and I am ill provided to bear it, having so many unexpected calls upon me from all quarters. I therefore beg you will have mercy on me, put me to as little charge as possible, and take nothing that you can possibly do without.

As to sheathing with copper, it is totally out of the question. I am not authorized to do it, if I had money, and I have not money, if I had orders. The purchase of the *Serapis* is in the same predicament. I believe the sending of cordage and canvass from Amsterdam has already been forbidden; if not, I shall forbid it. I approve of your applying to Messrs. Gourdale & Moylan for what repairs you want, having an exceedingly good opinion of those gentlemen; but, let me repeat it, for God's sake be sparing, unless you mean to make me a bankrupt, or have your drafts dishonored for want of money in my hands to pay them.

We are likely to obtain fifteen thousand stand of good arms from the government. They are much wanted in America. M. de la Fayette has just now proposed, that you should take them as ballast. You know best if this is practicable.

Mr. Ross requests to be permitted to take his passage with you. As he has been a servant of the States, in making their purchases in Europe, it seems to me, that it would be wrong to refuse him,

if you can accommodate him. There is also a particular friend of mine, Mr. Samuel Wharton of Philadelphia, who desires to go with you. These gentlemen will doubtless lay in their own stores, and pay as customary for their accommodations, and I am persuaded you will find them agreeable company. Mr. Lee and Mr. Izard also propose to take their passages in your ship, whom I hope you can likewise accommodate. Pray write me immediately your sentiments on these particulars, and let me know, at the same time, when you think you can be ready, that I may forward my despatches.

I am glad to hear, that your indisposition is wearing off. I hope your health will soon be reëstablished.

I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.


LETTER CII.

TO JOHN PAUL JONES.

Passy, 18 March, 1790.

DEAR SIR,

I received your letter relating to the bullets of the engineer in Denmark, and shall write thither accordingly. I have also just received yours of the 13th. Mr. Ross writes to me, that he finds a difficulty in



passing the goods to you from l'Isle Noirmoutier. I do, therefore, now desire you, if practicable, to call at or off that island, in order to take them on board, their speedy and safe arrival in America being of the greatest consequence to the army. I have sent my despatches by Mr. Wharton, who set off yesterday morning. When they arrive, and you have got the cloth on board, I know of nothing to retard your proceeding directly to such port in North America, as you shall judge most likely to be reached with safety. If in other respects equal, Philadelphia is to be preferred.

I wish the prize-money due to your people could be paid, before they go. I have spoken often about it. As to the prizes sent in to Norway, you know they were delivered back to the English by the court of Denmark.* I have reclaimed them by a strong memorial, but have yet received no answer; and it is doubted whether we shall recover any thing, unless by letters of marque and reprisal from the Congress, against the subjects of that kingdom, which, perhaps, in the present circumstances, it may not be thought proper soon to grant. The ships of war, that you took, are, I hear, to be valued, the king intending to purchase them; and the muster-roll of the *Bon Homme Richard* is wanting, in order to regulate the

* See *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution*, Vol. III. p. 121.

proportions to each ship. These things may take time. I have considered, that the people of the *Bon Homme* may want some little supplies for the voyage, and, therefore, if these proportions should not be regulated and paid before you sail, and you find it necessary, you may draw on me as far as twenty-four thousand livres to advance to them, for which they are to be accountable ; but do not exceed that sum. I do this to prevent, as much as in me lies, the bad effects of any uneasiness among them ; for I suppose that regularly all payments to seamen should be made at home.

A grand convoy, I understand, is to sail from Brest about the end of this month, or beginning of the next. It is of great importance to the United States, that not only the *Alliance*, but the merchantmen that may sail under her convoy, should safely arrive there. If it will be convenient and practicable for you to join that convoy, and sail with it till off the coast, I wish it may be done. But I leave it to your discretion and judgment. I have no farther instructions to give, but, committing you to the protection of Providence, I wish you a prosperous voyage, and a happy sight of your friends in America ; being with great esteem, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER CIII.

TO ROBERT MORRIS.

Passy, 3 June, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I received your kind letter of March 31st, acquainting me with your having engaged in M. de la Frété's affairs on my recommendation. I thank you very much, and beg you to be assured, that any recommendation of yours will be regarded by me with the greatest attention. The letter you enclosed to M. Dumas is forwarded to him. We are impatient to hear from America, no account of the operations before Charleston, later than the 9th of March, having yet come to hand.

Every thing here in Europe continues to wear a good face. Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland are raising a strong naval force to establish the free navigation for neutral ships, and of all their cargoes, though belonging to enemies, except contraband, that is, military stores. France and Spain have approved of it, and it is likely to become henceforth the law of nations, that *free ships make free goods*. England does not like this confederacy. I wish they would extend it still farther, and ordain, that unarmed trading ships, as well as fishermen and farmers, should be respected, as working for the common benefit of mankind, and never be interrupted in their operations,

even by national enemies ; but let those only fight with one another, whose trade it is, and who are armed and paid for the purpose.

With great and sincere esteem I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient

and most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER CIV.

TO JOHN PAUL JONES.

Passy, 12 August, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I received yours by the Count de Vauban, and I send by him my public despatches, requesting you to sink them if necessary. I am glad you are so near ready for sailing. I return all the papers, that were enclosed in yours, and send copies of some others, which perhaps may be of use to you in your future affair with Landais.

Depend upon it, I never wrote to Mr. Gillon, that the *Bon Homme Richard* was a privateer. I could not write so, because I never had such a thought. I will, next post, send you a copy of my letter to him, by which you will see, that he has only forced that construction from a vague expression I used, merely

to conceal from him (in answering his idle demand, that I would order your squadron, then on the point of sailing, to go with him to Carolina), that the expedition was at the expense and under the direction of the King, which it was not proper or necessary for him to know. The expression I used was, that *the concerned* had destined the squadron for another service. These words, *the concerned*, he and the counsellor have interpreted to mean, the owners of a privateer.

I shall send per post some private letters for my American friends, for which I had no time by your express. If you should be still at L'Orient when they come, it is well; but do not wait a moment for them, if you are ready to sail, and the wind serves. Adieu! I wish you a prosperous voyage, a happy sight of your friends and country, and that you may be received with all the honors you have so justly merited.

I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. I say nothing about the prize-money, having never had any thing to do with it; but I will endeavour to forward the payment to those honest fellows, who are gone to America. Pray let me know if the despatches I formerly sent down to go with you in the *Alliance* are gone in her. There were letters containing the proceedings about Captain Landais.

LETTER CV.

TO DR. BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE, AT LEYDEN.

Passy, 18 January, 1781.

SIR,

I received your obliging letter of the 16th past, enclosing one from my dear friend, Dr. Fothergill. I was happy to hear from him, that he was quite free of the disorder that had like to have removed him last summer. But I had soon after a letter from another friend, acquainting me that he was again dangerously ill of the same malady; and the newspapers have since announced his death. I condole with you most sincerely on this occasion. I think a worthier man never lived. For, besides his constant readiness to serve his friends, he was always studying and projecting something for the good of his country and of mankind in general, and putting others, who had it in their power, on executing what was out of his own reach; but whatever was within it he took care to do himself; and his incredible industry and unwearied activity enabled him to do much more than can now be ever known, his modesty being equal to his other virtues.

I shall take care to forward his letter to Mr. Pemberton.* Enclosed is one I have just received under

* Of Philadelphia, an eminent character in the Society of Friends.

cover from that gentleman. You will take care to convey it by some safe opportunity to London.

With hearty wishes for your prosperity and success in your profession, and that you may be a good copy of your deceased relation,

I am

Your friend and humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER CVI.

TO MRS. HEWSON.

Passy, 13 April, 1782.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I received your kind letter of the 23d of December. I rejoice always to hear of you and your good mother's welfare, though I can write but seldom, and safe opportunities are scarce. Looking over some old papers, I find the rough draft of a letter, which I wrote to you fifteen months ago, and which probably miscarried, or your answer miscarried, as I never received any. I enclose it, as the spring is coming on, and the same proposition will now again be in season, and easily executed, if you should approve of it.

You mention Mr. Viny's being with you. What is his present situation? I think he might do well with his wheel business in this country. By your news-

papers, Jacob seems to have taken it to himself. Could he not make up a good coach, with the latest useful improvements, and bring you all in it? It would serve here as a specimen of his abilities, if he chose to stay, or would sell well if he chose to return. I hope your mother has got over her lowness of spirits about the dropsy. It is common for aged people to have at times swelled ancles towards evening, but it is a temporary disorder, which goes off of itself, and has no consequences. My tender love to her.

If you have an opportunity of sending to Geneva, I like well enough your sending the books thither for my godson grandson, who goes on well there. You do well to keep my granddaughter without stays. God bless her, and all of you.

You may imagine I begin to grow happy in my prospects. I should be quite so, if I could see peace and good will restored between our countries, for I enjoy health, competence, friends, and reputation. Peace is the only ingredient wanting to my felicity.

Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me ever

Yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. STEVENSON AND MRS. HEWSON.

LETTER CVII.

Paris, 19 April, 1782.

I wrote to you, my dear friends, very lately, and directed my letter to Cheam in Surrey. Mr. Whitefoord tells me, that you are removed to Kensington Square, and I fear that my letter may therefore not find you. I sent it under cover to Mr. William Hodgson, merchant, in Coleman Street, which I mention, that in case it has not come to hand, you may there enquire for it, though it contains little worth the trouble, as it only expresses what you always knew, that I love you both very much, and very sincerely.

Mr. Whitefoord will inform you how I live, and that I am very well, as happy as the situation of public affairs will permit, only capable of being made more so, if you were here with me ;

Being ever your truly affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER CVIII.

To MRS. HEWSON.

Passy, 13 June, 1782.

MY DEAR CHILD,

I received your pleasing letter of the 1st of May, through the hands of Mr. Hodgson, and one since by Mr. Oswald. You cannot be more pleased in talking about your children, your methods of instructing them, and the progress they make, than I am in hearing it, and in finding, that, instead of following the idle amusements, which both your fortune and the custom of the age might have led you into, your delight and your duty go together, by employing your time in the education of your offspring. This is following nature and reason, instead of fashion, than which nothing is more becoming the character of a woman of sense and virtue.

We have here a female writer on education, who has lately published three volumes, that are much talked of. I will send them to you by the first opportunity. They are much praised and much censured. The author, Madame la Comtesse de Genlis, is made, in consequence of her writing that work, governess of the children of the Duc de Chartres, who is son of the Duke of Orleans. Perhaps you may not find much in it, that can be of use to you, but you may find something.

I enclose another piece on the same subject, written by another Comtesse, Madame de Forbach, who does me the honor of calling me her friend, by which means I have a copy, it not being published. When you have leisure, I shall like to see your remarks.

Do not send any books to Geneva. The troubles of that city have driven the school and my boy out of it, and I have thoughts of sending for him home. Perhaps I may put him for a while under your care, to recover his English in the same school with your sons.

I hope with you, that there may be a peace, and that we may once more meet. Remember me kindly to Mr. and Mrs. Viny. I do not at present want a carriage. Embrace your good mother for me with much affection, and believe me to be, my dear friend,

Yours ever,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER CIX.

TO MRS. HEWSON.

Passy, June, 1782.

I send you a few of your translations. I did not put your name as the translator (which I at first intended) because I apprehended it might *look like*

vanity in you ; and as I shall otherwise make it known, I think the omitting it will *look like* modesty.

Present my sincere love to your mother. Nothing would give me greater pleasure, than to see you both once more, well and happy. But you, who are truly sagacious and honest, and can give good advice, tell me frankly your sentiments, whether, in case of a peace, it will be prudent in me to visit England, before I return to America. I have no other call there, but the pleasure of seeing my friends, of whom I must again soon take leave ; and my appearing may perhaps exasperate my enemies. If you think this not of serious consequence, tell me whether I may come right through London to Kensington, with the view of finding room in your house ; or whether I should take a lodging in the city to return to. Don't let me in the least incommode you.

I forget whether I ever acknowledged the receipt of the prints of Mr. Hewson. I have one of them framed in my study. I think it very like. I believe I acquainted you with good Mr. Dubourg's death. He had enlarged his little piece, which you translated ; and, in respect for his memory, I have had it printed. I enclose a copy.

I am sorry to learn the still unsettled state of Mr. ———'s family. Mrs. ——— is undoubtedly well qualified to teach English here, but I cannot think it would be worth her while to come hither for that purpose. It is true, that our language is in vogue here,

and many learn a little of it, but the instructors are poorly paid, and the employ precarious and uncertain ; this observation is so general, as to have given rise to a proverb, *Pauvre comme un maître de langues.*

Your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER CX.

TO MRS. HEWSON.

Passy, 17 August, 1782.

MY DEAR GOOD CHILD,

I received your kind letter by Dr. Shuttleworth. It always gives me great pleasure to hear of the welfare of you and yours. As to myself, I continue as hearty as at my age could be expected, and as cheerful as ever you knew me, hoping ere long to see peace and my friends, whose continued regard for me, after so long and so thorough an acquaintance with me, I esteem among my honors and felicities.

It is now a quarter of a century since our friendship commenced, and though we lived much of the time together, it has never been interrupted by the smallest misunderstanding or coolness. In this observation I include your good mother, from whom I had lately the pleasure of receiving a few lines. I embrace you both with the most tender affection, being ever sincerely yours,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER CXI.

TO MRS. HEWSON.

Passy, 27 January, 1783.

The departure of my dearest friend,* which I learn from your last letter, greatly affects me. To meet with her once more in this life was one of the principal motives of my proposing to visit England again, before my return to America. The last year carried off my friends Dr. Pringle, Dr. Fothergill, Lord Kaims, and Lord le Despencer. This has begun to take away the rest, and strikes the hardest. Thus the ties I had to that country, and indeed to the world in general, are loosened one by one, and I shall soon have no attachment left to make me unwilling to follow.

I intended writing when I sent the eleven books, but I lost the time in looking for the twelfth. I wrote with that ; and hope it came to hand. I therein asked your counsel about my coming to England. On reflection, I think I can, from my knowledge of your prudence, foresee what it will be, viz. not to come too soon, lest it should seem braving and insulting some who ought to be respected. I shall, therefore, omit that journey till I am near going to America, and then just step over to take leave of my friends,

* Mrs. Stevenson, the mother of Mrs. Hewson.

and spend a few days with you. I purpose bringing Ben with me, and perhaps may leave him under your care.

At length we are in peace, God be praised, and long, very long, may it continue. All wars are follies, very expensive and very mischievous ones. When will mankind be convinced of this, and agree to settle their differences by arbitration? Were they to do it, even by the cast of a die, it would be better than by fighting and destroying each other.

Spring is coming on, when travelling will be delightful. Can you not, when you see your children all at school, make a little party, and take a trip hither? I have now a large house, delightfully situated, in which I could accommodate you and two or three friends, and I am but half an hour's drive from Paris.

In looking forward, twenty-five years seem a long period, but in looking back, how short! Could you imagine, that it is now full a quarter of a century since we were first acquainted? It was in 1757. During the greatest part of the time, I lived in the same house with my dear deceased friend, your mother; of course you and I conversed with each other much and often. It is to all our honors, that in all that time we never had among us the smallest misunderstanding. Our friendship has been all clear sunshine, without the least cloud in its hemisphere. Let me conclude by saying to you, what I have had too fre-

quent occasions to say to my other remaining old friends, The fewer we become, the more let us love one another.

Adieu, and believe me ever

Yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER CXII.

TO MRS. HEWSON.

Passy, 26 April, 1783.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I received in its time your kind letter of February 22d. I am sensible of the prudence of your advice, respecting my coming to England, and shall follow it. Accept my thanks for that, and for your kind invitation to Cheam, when I do come ; but the little left of life at my age will, perhaps, hurry me home, as soon as I can be quit of my employment here. I should, indeed, have great pleasure in seeing you, and in being some time with you and your little family. I cannot have all I wish.

Mr. Williams is now here with his family. I shall mention to him his not answering your letter. We talked yesterday of you, and of his friend Dolly, whom I have not forgotten, as she supposes. He ex-

pressed the highest esteem and regard for you both.
My love to her when you see her.

I send you some more of the little books, and am
ever, my dear friend,

Yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER CXIII.

TO MRS. HEWSON.

Passy, 7 September, 1783.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I received your kind letter of the 9th past. I am glad, that the little books are pleasing to you and your children, and that the children improve by them.

My grandson Bache has been four years at school at Geneva, and is but lately come home to me here. I find reason to be satisfied with the improvement he has made in his learning. He translates common Latin readily into French, but his English has suffered for want of use ; though I think he would readily recover it, if he were a while at your school at Cheam, and at the same time be going on with his Latin and Greek. You were once so kind as to offer to take him under your care ; would that be still convenient to you ? He is docile and of gentle manners, ready to receive and follow good advice, and will set

no bad example to your *other* children. He gains every day upon my affections.

I long much to see you and yours, and my other friends in England, but I have not yet determined on the journey. Our definitive treaty of peace being now signed, I have indeed less to confine me here, and might make a short excursion without much inconvenience ; but short days and winter are coming on, and I think I can hardly undertake such an expedition before the spring of next year.

With regard to the future establishment of your children, which you say you want to consult me about, I am still of opinion, that America will afford you more chances of doing it well than England. All the means of good education are plenty there, the general manners are simple and pure, temptations to vice and folly fewer, the profits of industry in business as great and sure as in England ; and there is one advantage more, which your command of money will give you there, I mean the laying out a part of your fortune in new land, now to be had extremely cheap ; but which must be increased immensely in value, before your children come of age, by the rapid population of the country. If you should arrive there while I live, you know you may depend on every assistance in my power to afford you, and I think my children will have a pleasure too in serving their father's friend. I do not offer it as a motive, that you will be much esteemed and respected there ; for that you are, and must be, every where ;

but give me leave to flatter myself, that my being made happier in my last years by your neighbourhood and society may be some inducement to you.

I forwarded your letter to Mr. Williams. Temple is always with me, being my secretary. He presents his respects to you. I have been lately ill with a fit of the gout, if that may indeed be called a disease. I rather suspect it to be a remedy, since I always find my health and vigor of mind improved after the fit is over.

I am ever, my dear friend,
Yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. You say you are a little afraid that our country is spoiled. Parts of it have indeed suffered by the war, those situated near the sea ; but the body of the country has not been much hurt, and the fertility of our soil, with the industry of our people, now that the commerce of all the world is open to us, will soon repair the damages received, and introduce that prosperity, which we hope Providence intends for us, since it has so remarkably favored our revolution.

LETTER CXIV.

TO MRS. HEWSON.

Passy, 26 December, 1783.

DEAR POLLY,

In reading Mr. Viny's letter, when I received it, I missed seeing yours, which was written behind it in a corner. I thank you much for your kind offer respecting my grandson. I was fully resolved on sending him in September last, and engaged Mr. Jay, one of my colleagues, then going to England, to take him over in his company. But when it came to be proposed to him, he showed such an unwillingness to leave me, and Temple such a fondness for retaining him, that I concluded to keep him till I should go over myself. He behaves very well, and we love him very much.

I send herewith two different French grammars, not knowing which to prefer, opinions here being divided. Your French master may take his choice, and you will present the other to my godson, as my new year's gift, with the two volumes of *Synonymes François*, an excellent work. They will be left at Mr. Hodgson's, merchant in Coleman Street, where you may have them on sending for them.

Adieu, my dear friend. I long to see you and yours, but God only knows when that may happen. I am, nevertheless,

Yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

January 1, 1784. Health, and prosperity, and many happy years to my dear friend and her children, for whom I send the enclosed little books.

LETTER CXV.

TO MRS. HEWSON.

Passy, 19 March, 1784.

You will forget me quite, my dear old friend, if I do not write to you now and then.

I still exist, and still enjoy some pleasure in that existence, though now in my seventy-ninth year. Yet I feel the infirmities of age come on so fast, and the building to need so many repairs, that in a little time the owner will find it cheaper to pull it down and build a new one.

I wish, however, to see you first, but I begin to doubt the possibility.

My children join in love to you and yours, with

Your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER CXVI.

TO MRS. HEWSON.

Passy, 15 August, 1784.

DEAR FRIEND,

I received your kind letter of July 20th. I wish you had executed your project of taking a little trip to see me this summer. You would have made me very happy, and might have bathed your children here, as well as at Southampton, I having a bath in my house, besides the river in view. I like your monthly account of them, and in return send you my daughter's account of my grandchildren in Philadelphia. You will see she expected me home this summer, but my constituents have sent me a new commission, and I must stay another winter. Can you not come and pass it with me here?

Temple, who purposes to have the pleasure of delivering this to you, will explain to you how you may be accommodated, and, if you can resolve to come, will conduct you. Except being at home, which I begin now to fear I never shall be, nothing could give me greater pleasure. Come, my dear friend, live with me while I stay here, and go with me, if I do go, to America.

Yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. My love to the dear children, particularly my godson, for whom Temple has a little present of French books.

LETTER CXVII.

TO MRS. HEWSON.

Passy, 5 May, 1785.

MY DEAR, DEAR FRIEND,

I received your little letter from Dover, which gave me great pleasure, as it informed me of your happy progress so far in your way home. I hope the rest of your journey was as prosperous.*

You talk of obligations to me, when in fact I am the person obliged. I passed a long winter, which appeared the shortest of any I ever past. Such is the effect of pleasing society, with friends one loves.

I have now received my permission to return, and am making my preparations. I hope to get away in June. I promise myself, or rather flatter myself, that I shall be happy when at home. But however happy that circumstance may make me, your joining me there will surely make me happier, provided your change of country may be for the advantage of your dear little family. When you have made up your mind on the subject, let me know by a line, that I may prepare a house for you as near me, and otherwise as convenient for you, as possible.

My neighbours begin to come out from Paris, and replace themselves in their Passy houses. They

* Mrs. Hewson had spent the winter with Dr. Franklin at Passy.

inquire after you, and are sorry you are gone before they could make themselves known to you. M. le Veillard, in particular, has told me, at different times, what indeed I knew long since, *C'est une bien digne femme, cette Madame Hewson, une très aimable femme.* I would not tell you this, if I thought it would make you vain ; but that is impossible ; you have too much good sense.

So wish me a good voyage, and when you pray at church for all that travel by land or sea, think of

Your ever affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. My love to William, and Thomas, and Eliza, and tell them I miss their cheerful prattle. Temple being sick, and Benjamin at Paris, I have found it very *triste* breakfasting alone, and sitting alone, and without any tea in the evening.

LETTER CXVIII.

To MRS. HEWSON.

Passy, 26 June, 1785.

DEAR FRIEND,

I wrote to you the 5th of last month, and have since received your kind letters of the 8th, informing me of your welfare, and that of the dear children, which gave me great pleasure. I shall long to see

you all again in America, where I hope to be soon. Almost all my things are now packed up, and will be in the barge next Wednesday, to go down the river ; for though I know not yet what vessel I shall go in, I would have every thing at Havre ready to embark ; and I suppose I shall not be here myself a fortnight longer.

I say nothing to persuade you to go with me or to follow me ; because I know you do not usually act from persuasion, but from judgment ; and, as that is very sound, I leave you to yourself. You will do what is best for you and yours, and that will give me most pleasure. Miss Lamotte's friends do not consent to her going to England. I enclose her letter, by which you will see, that, though she speaks the language prettily, she does not write it correctly. Indeed, abundance of the French are deficient in their own orthography. I offered her, as you desired, the money that might be necessary for the journey.

Temple is not yet quite well, having had several returns of his ague. Benjamin continues hearty, and has been very serviceable in packing. They both present their respects.

If you should write me a line before my departure, direct it to Havre de Grace.

Adieu, my very dear friend, and believe me ever

Yours with sincere respect and affection,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. My love to every one of the children.

LETTER CXIX.

TO MRS. HEWSON.

DEAR FRIEND,

Passy, 4 July, 1785.

By this post I have given orders to engage a fine ship, now at London, to carry me and my family to Philadelphia. My baggage is already on the Seine, going down to Havre, from whence, if the captain cannot call for us there, we shall cross the channel, and meet him at Cowes in the Isle of Wight. The ship has a large, convenient cabin, with good lodging-places. The whole will be at my disposition, and there is plenty of room for you and yours. You may never have so good an opportunity of passing to America, if it is your intention. Think of it, and take your resolution ; believing me ever

Your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Love to the dear children. If Mr. Williams is returned to London, he will inform you of the particulars. If not, you may enquire of Wallace, Johnson, & Muir, merchants, London, to be heard of at the Pennsylvania Coffee-House, Birchin Lane. The ship is to be at Cowes the 1st of August.*

* Extract from a letter to a friend in America.

" St. Germain, twelve miles from Paris, 13 July, 1785.

" I left Passy yesterday afternoon, and am here on my way to Havre de Grace, a seaport, in order to embark for America. I

LETTER CXX.

To MRS. HEWSON.

Southampton, 26 July, 1785.

DEAR FRIEND,

I received here yours of the 23d instant. I am sorry it did not suit you to go in the ship with me, having engaged places in the cabin, that would have accommodated you and yours, not indeed on your account, because I never depended on your going ; but I took the whole cabin, that I might not be intruded on by any accidental disagreeable company.

If you come to Philadelphia, you will find an always affectionate friend in me, and in my children after I am gone. My love to yours, and to Dolly ; and my respects to Mrs. Hawkesworth. I came to Havre de Grace in a litter, and hither in the packet-boat ; and, instead of being hurt by the journey or voyage, I

make use of one of the King's litters carried by mules, which walk steadily and easily, so that I bear the motion very well. I am to be taken on board a Philadelphia ship on the coast of England, (Captain Truxton,) the beginning of next month. Not having written to you since the letter, which contained a bill on Mr. Vernon, and as I may not have another opportunity before my arrival in Philadelphia (if it pleases God I do arrive), I write these particulars to go by way of England, that you may be less uneasy about me. I did my last public act in this country just before I set out, which was signing a treaty of amity and commerce with Prussia. I have continued to work till late in the day ; 'tis time I should go home, and go to bed."

really find myself very much better, not having suffered so little for the time these two years past.

Adieu, my dear friend, accept my repeated thanks for the agreeable winter your kind company, with that of my young friends, made me pass, and believe me ever,

Yours sincerely and most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER CXXI.

TO GOVERNOR GREENE AND MRS. GREENE.

Philadelphia, 20 September, 1785.

I seize this first opportunity of acquainting my dear friends, that I have once more the great happiness of being at home in my own country, and with my family, because I know it will give you pleasure. I shall be glad to hear of your welfare, also, and beg you to favor me with a line, and let me know particularly how my young friend Ray does. .

I enjoy, thanks to God, as much good health as can reasonably be expected at my time of life; and am ever,

With sincere esteem, my dear friends,

Yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER CXXII.

TO MRS. HEWSON.

Philadelphia, 30 October, 1786.

I received my dear friend's letter of July 23d, at Southampton, where I arrivèd the 24th, and stayed till the 28th. I believe I acquainted you by a line immediately after my arrival here, that we had a pleasant, and not a long passage, in which there was but one day, a day of violent storm, in which I was glad you were not with us. I had the happiness of finding my family well, and of being very kindly received by my country folks.

I say nothing to persuade your coming, because I said in a former letter, I would leave you entirely to your own judgment, which is very good. I would only mention a fact, that, on inquiry, I am informed the usual apprentice-fee to a mercantile house of eminence, is from one hundred to one hundred and fifty pounds sterling. I am plunged again into public business, as deep as ever; and can now only add my love to the dear children, in which this family all join. Temple is just gone to look at his lands, and Ben is at college to complete his studies. I am ever, my dear friend,

Yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.*

* Extract from a letter to a relation.

" Philadelphia, 24 January, 1786.

" Your letter to Mr. V. seems to me very proper and well writ-

LETTER CXXIII.

TO MRS. HEWSON.

Philadelphia, 6 May, 1786.

MY DEAR FRIEND.

A long winter has past, and I have not had the pleasure of a line from you, acquainting me with your and your children's welfare, since I left England. I suppose you have been in Yorkshire, out of the way and knowledge of opportunities; for I will not think that you have forgotten me.

To make me some amends, I received a few days past a large packet from Mr. Williams, dated September, 1776, near ten years since, containing three letters from you, one of December 12, 1775. This packet had been received by Mr. Bache, after my

ten, and I think he was wrong in detaining the five dollars. But when we consider, that he was under no legal obligation to pay a debt contracted by his son, we may be glad, that we have received so much of it, and that, when it is common to pay the interest of an old debt in ill language, he has paid you only in silence. It is a family I have formerly been in friendship with, and I would not have you trouble them with any farther demands.

"I do not wonder at your blaming me for accepting the government [the office of President of Pennsylvania]. We have all of us wisdom enough to judge what others ought to do, or not to do, in the management of their affairs, and 'tis possible I might blame you as much if you were to accept the offer of a young husband. My example may teach you not to be too confident in your own prudence, as it teaches me not to be surprised at such an event, should it really happen."

departure for France, lay dormant among his papers during all my absence, and has just now broke out upon me, *like words*, that had been, as somebody says, *congealed in northern air*. Therein I find all the pleasing little family history of your children ; how William had begun to spell, overcoming, by strength of memory, all the difficulty occasioned by the common wretched alphabet, while you were convinced of the utility of our new one ; how Tom, genius-like, struck out new paths, and, relinquishing the old names of the letters, called U bell, and P bottle ; how Eliza began to grow jolly, that is, fat and handsome, resembling aunt Rooke, whom I used to call *my lovely*. Together with all the *then* news of lady Blount's having produced at length a boy ; of Dolly's being well, and of poor good Catherine's decease ; of your affairs with Muir & Atkinson, and of their contract for feeding the fish in the channel ; of the Viny's and their jaunt to Cambridge in the long carriage ; of Dolly's journey to Wales with Mrs. Scott ; of the Wilkeses, the Pearces, Elphinstones, &c. ;—concluding with a kind of promise, that, as soon as the ministry and Congress agreed to make peace, I should have you with me in America. That peace has been some time made ; but, alas ! the promise is not yet fulfilled.

I have found my family here in health, good circumstances, and well respected by the
zens. The companions of my

almost all departed, but I find an agreeable society among their children and grandchildren. I have public business enough to preserve me from *ennui*, and private amusement besides in conversation, books, my garden, and *cribbage*. Considering our well furnished, plentiful market as the best of gardens, I am turning mine, in the midst of which my house stands, into grass plots and gravel walks, with trees and flowering shrubs. Cards we sometimes play here, in long winter evenings, but it is as they play at chess, not for money, but for honor, or the pleasure of beating one another. This will not be quite a novelty to you, as you may remember we played together in that manner during the winter at Passy. I have indeed now and then a little compunction, in reflecting that I spend time so idly ; but another reflection comes to relieve me, whispering, "*You know that the soul is immortal ; why then should you be such a niggard of a little time, when you have a whole eternity before you ?*" So, being easily convinced, and, like other reasonable creatures, satisfied with a small reason, when it is in favor of doing what I have a mind to, I shuffle the cards again, and begin another game.

As to public amusements, we have neither plays nor operas, but we had yesterday a kind of oratorio, as you will see by the enclosed paper ; and we have assemblies, balls, and concerts, besides little parties at one another's houses, in which there is sometimes dancing, and frequently good music ; so that we jog

on in life as pleasantly as you do in England ; anywhere but in London, for there you have plays performed by good actors. That, however, is, I think, the only advantage London has over Philadelphia.

Temple has turned his thoughts to agriculture, which he pursues ardently, being in possession of a fine farm, that his father lately conveyed to him. Ben is finishing his studies at college, and continues to behave as well as when you knew him, so that I think he will make you a good son. His younger brothers and sisters are also promising, appearing to have good tempers and dispositions, as well as good constitutions. As to myself, I think my general health and spirits rather better, than when you saw me. The particular malady I then complained of continues tolerable.

With sincere and very great esteem, I am ever, my dear friend,

Yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. My children and grandchildren join with me in best wishes for you and yours. My love to my godson, to Eliza, and to honest Tom. They will all find agreeable companions here. Love to Dolly, and tell her she will do well to come with you.

LETTER CXXIV.

To MRS. HEWSON.

Philadelphia, 30 May, 1786.

DEAR POLLY,

I have just received your kind letter of April 2d, which made me some amends for your long silence. By the last ship from hence I wrote to you, acknowledging the receipt of some very old letters, when I was sorry I could mention none of later date. I have, however, no right to complain, being so bad a correspondent myself. But my last was a long one, and I hope you have received it.

You seem now inclined to come over, if you could meet with a captain, that you know and like. We mentioned it to Captain Falkener. He goes no more to sea, but strongly recommends Captain Willet, who carries this letter, as a good man and excellent seaman. His ship is the *Harmony*, which lately brought over Mr. and Mrs. Bingham. Mr. Williams will hardly, I doubt, be with you in time this year to assist in your embarkation, but if you apply to Messrs. Johnson & Company, American merchants, to whom I write, I am persuaded they will make the bargain for you, and assist you with their advice in every circumstance.

Temple, who presents his respects, has, however, no hopes of your coming. He says you were so long

irresolute and wavering about the journey to Paris, that he thinks it unlikely you will decide firmly to make the voyage of America.

I enclose a truer state of affairs in our country, than your public prints will afford you, and I pray "God guide you."

This family are all well, and join in love to you and yours, with your affectionate

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Captain Willet is to leave London on his return about the 1st of August. Your *son* Ben, and all this family, join in the hope of your resolving to come over.*

LETTER CXXV.

TO A FRIEND.

[Extract.]

Philadelphia, 4 July, 1786.

—— You need not be concerned, in writing to me, about your bad spelling ; for, in my opinion, as our alphabet now stands, the bad spelling, or what is called so, is generally the best, as conforming to the

* Mrs. Hewson soon afterwards came over with her family to America, and established herself at Philadelphia.

sound of the letters and of the words. To give you an instance. A gentleman received a letter, in which were these words,—*Not finding Brown at hom, I delivered your meseg to his yf.* The gentleman finding it bad spelling, and therefore not very intelligible, called his lady to help him read it. Between them they picked out the meaning of all but the *yf*, which they could not understand. The lady proposed calling her chambermaid, because Betty, says she, has the best knack at reading bad spelling of any one I know. Betty came, and was surprised that neither Sir nor Madam could tell what *yf* was. “Why,” says she, “*y f* spells *wife*, what else can it spell?” And, indeed, it is a much better, as well as shorter method of spelling *wife*, than *Doubleyou, i, ef, e*, which in reality spell *Doubleyifey*.

There is much rejoicing in town to-day, it being the anniversary of the declaration of Independence, which we signed this day ten years, and thereby hazarded lives and fortunes. God was pleased to put a favorable end to the contest much sooner than we had reason to expect. His name be praised.

Adieu,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER CXXVI.

TO THE REVEREND DR. BYLES, BOSTON.

Philadelphia, 1 January, 1788.

DEAR OLD FRIEND,

I duly received your kind letter of May 14th, 1787. I was then busily engaged in attending our General Convention, which, added to the ordinary current business of this government, took up so much of my time, that I was obliged to postpone answering many letters of friends, which gave occasion of mislaying some of them, and among those was yours, only last week come again to hand. I think I never received what you mention, respecting the university of Aberdeen; but the good-will I might show on that occasion was not of importance enough to deserve your repeating the acknowledgment. It was in me only paying a debt; for I remember with gratitude, that I owe one of my first academical honors to your recommendation.

It gives me much pleasure to understand, that my points have been of service in the protection of you and yours. I wish for your sake that electricity had really proved, what at first it was supposed to be, a cure for the palsy. It is however happy for you, that when old age and that malady have concurred to enfeeble you, and to disable you for writing, you

have a daughter at hand to nurse you with filial attention, and to be your secretary, of which I see she is very capable, by the elegance and correctness of her writing in the letter I am now answering. I too have a daughter, who lives with me and is the comfort of my declining years, while my son is estranged from me by the part he took in the late war, and keeps aloof, residing in England; whose cause he *espoused*; whereby the old proverb is exemplified;

“ My son is my son till he gets him a wife;

But my daughter is my daughter all the days of her life.”

I remember you had a little collection of curiosities. Please to honor with a place in it the enclosed medal, which I got struck in Paris. The thought was much approved by the connoisseurs there, and the engraving well executed. My best wishes attend you, being ever

Your affectionate friend,

and humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER CXXVII.

TO THE REVEREND DOCTOR LATHROP, BOSTON.

Philadelphia, 31 May, 1788.

REVEREND SIR,

I received your obliging favor of the 6th instant by Mr. Hilliard, with whose conversation I was much pleased, and would have been glad to have had more of it, if he would have spared it to me ; but the short time of his stay has prevented. You need make no apology for introducing any of your friends to me. I consider it as doing me honor, as well as giving me pleasure.

I thank you for the pamphlet of the Humane Society. In return please to accept one of the same kind, which was published while I resided in France. If your Society have not hitherto seen it, it may possibly afford them useful hints.

It would certainly, as you observe, be a very great pleasure to me, if I could once again visit my native town, and walk over the grounds I used to frequent when a boy, and where I enjoyed many of the innocent pleasures of youth, which would be so brought to my remembrance, and where I might find some of my old acquaintance to converse with. But when I consider how well I am situated here, with every thing about me, that I can call either necessary or convenient ; the fatigues and bad accommodations to be met

with and suffered in a land journey, and the unpleasantness of sea voyages, to one, who, although he has crossed the Atlantic eight times, and made many smaller trips, does not recollect his having ever been at sea without taking a firm resolution never to go to sea again ; and that, if I were arrived in Boston, I should see but little of it, as I could neither bear walking nor riding in a carriage over its pebbled streets ; and, above all, that I should find very few indeed of my old friends living, it being now sixty-five years since I left it to settle here ; — all this considered, I say, it seems probable, though not certain, that I shall hardly again visit that beloved place. But I enjoy the company and conversation of its inhabitants, when any of them are so good as to visit me ; for, besides their general good sense, which I value, the Boston manner, turn of phrase, and even tone of voice, and accent in pronunciation, all please, and seem to refresh and revive me.

I have been long impressed with the same sentiments you so well express, of the growing felicity of mankind, from the improvements in philosophy, morals, politics, and even the conveniences of common living, and the invention and acquisition of new and useful utensils and instruments ; so that I have sometimes almost wished it had been my destiny to be born two or three centuries hence. For invention and improvement are prolific and beget more of their kind. The present progress is rapid. Many of great

importance, now unthought of, will before that period be produced ; and then I might not only enjoy their advantages, but have my curiosity gratified in knowing what they are to be. I see a little absurdity in what I have just written, but it is to a friend, who will wink and let it pass, while I mention one reason more for such a wish, which is, that, if the art of physic shall be improved in proportion to other arts, we may then be able to avoid diseases, and live as long as the patriarchs in Genesis ; to which I suppose we should have little objection.

I am glad my dear sister has so good and kind a neighbour. I sometimes suspect she may be backward in acquainting me with circumstances in which I might be more useful to her. If any such should occur to your observation, your mentioning them to me will be a favor I shall be thankful for.

With great esteem, I have the honor to be,

Reverend Sir,

Your most obedient,

and most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER CXXVIII.

TO A RELATION IN BOSTON.

[Extract.]

Philadelphia, 3 August, 1789.

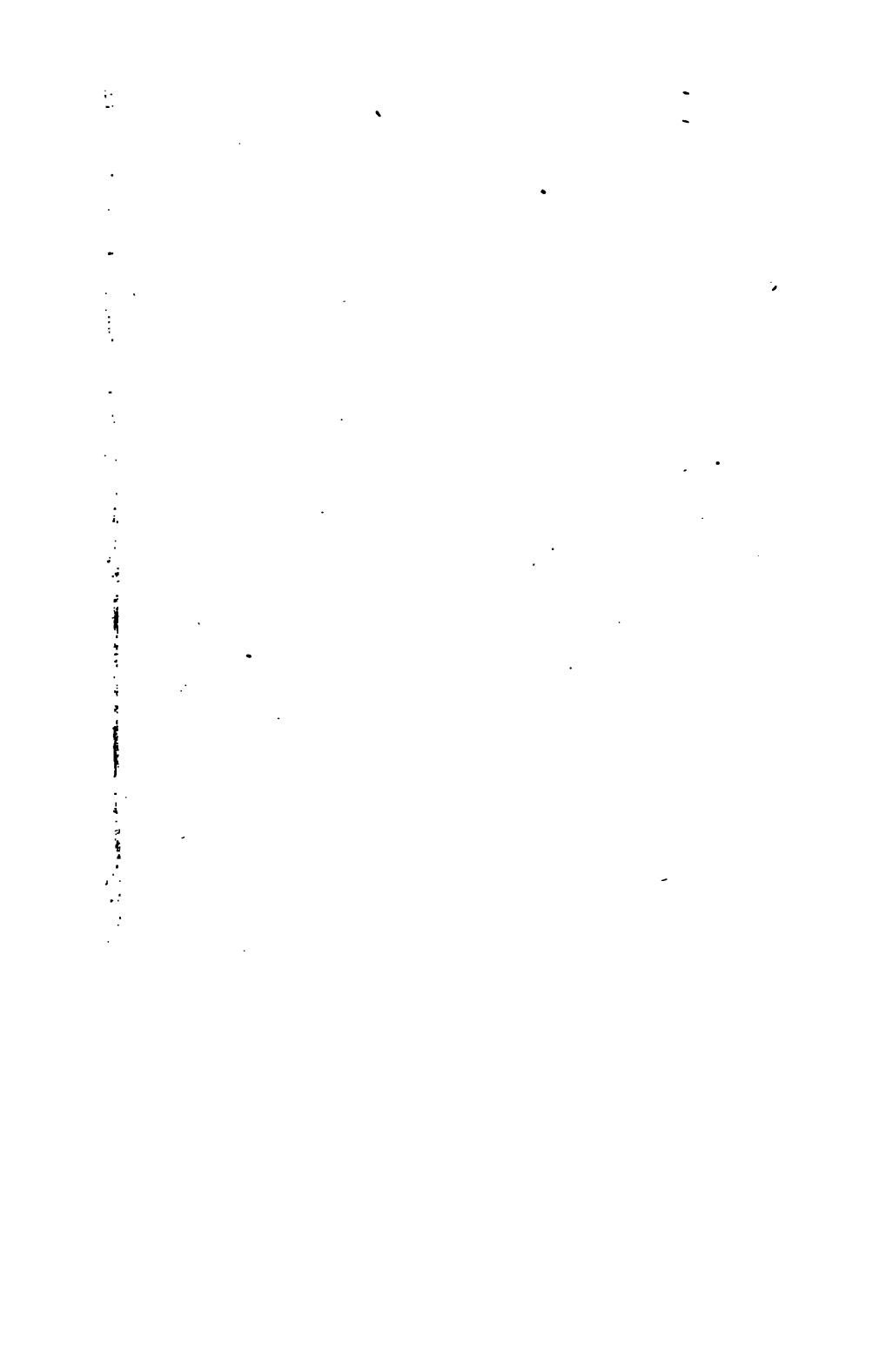
—— I am glad to learn, that you have at length got some of the letters I so long since wrote to you. I think your postoffice is very badly managed. I expect your bill, and shall pay it when it appears. I would have you put the books into our cousin's hands, who will dispose of them for you, if he can, or return them hither. I am very much pleased to hear, that you have had no misunderstanding with his father. Indeed, if there had been any such, I should have concluded, that it was your fault; for I think our family were always subject to being a little miffy.

By the way, is our relationship in Nantucket quite worn out? I have met with none from thence of late years, who were disposed to be acquainted with me, except Captain Timothy Folger. They are wonderfully shy. But I admire their honest plainness of speech. About a year ago I invited two of them to dine with me. Their answer was, that they would, if they could not do better. I suppose they did better; for I never saw them afterwards, and so had no opportunity of showing my miff, if I had one.

I shall make the addition you desire to my super-
scriptions, desiring in return that you will make a sub-
traction from yours. The word *Excellency* does not
belong to me, and *Doctor* will be sufficient to dis-
tinguish me from my grandson.

This family joins in love to you and yours.

B. FRANKLIN.



P A R T

II.

MISCELLANEOUS PIECES.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

HINTS

FOR

A REPLY TO THE PROTESTS

OF CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS

AGAINST

THE REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT.*

FIRST PROTEST.

WE have submitted to your laws, — no proof of our acknowledgment of your power to make them ; rather an acknowledgment of their reasonableness, or of our own weakness. — Postoffice came as a matter of utility, — was aided by the legislature. Mean to take

* In the *ATHENÆUM* at Philadelphia are many volumes of pamphlets, which formerly belonged to Dr. Franklin. Some of these are curious from the manuscript notes they contain in the margin. A few specimens have been selected for publication, both as having an historical interest, and as being peculiarly characteristic of their author.

It should here also be observed, that the notes contained in these pamphlets were penned at the very time, when he was supposed, by some persons, either unfriendly to his character or ignorant of his motives, to be secretly acting a part in England more

advantage of our ignorance. Children should not be imposed on ; are not, even by honest shopkeepers. A great and magnanimous nation should disdain to govern by tricks and traps, that would disgrace a pettifogging attorney.

Settlement of the colonies stated. Parliament not consulted ; — not till after the restoration, except by rebel Parliament. — Anxious about preserving the sovereignty of this country ? Rather be so about preserving the liberty. We shall be so about the liberty of America, that your posterity may have a free country to come to, where they will be received with open arms.

King, the sovereign, cannot take in his Parliament ; at least can give no greater power, than he had himself.

Compliment the Lords. Not a wiser or better body of men on earth. The deep respect impressed on me

accordant to his private aims, than to the high duties of a true lover of his country. From the tone, temper, and substance of these notes, let the reader judge with what justice such suspicions have been entertained, and such insinuations hazarded to the public. As mere private records of his thoughts, prompted by the impulse of the moment, without any design of their ever seeing the light, they must be admitted to reveal his true sentiments, and to exhibit the unbiassed workings of his mind.

The above " HINTS " are found in the margin of Dr. Franklin's printed copy of the *Protests*, written at the time (1766), from which it would appear, that it was his intention to make a formal answer to these *Protests*. This purpose, it is believed, was never executed.

by the instance I have been witness to of their justice. They have been misled by misinformation. Proof of my opinion of their goodness, in the freedom with which I purpose to examine their Protests.

The trust of taxing America was never reposed by the people of America in the legislature of Great Britain. They had one kind of confidence, indeed, in that legislature, — that it would never attempt to tax them without their consent. The law was destructive of that confidence among them.

Other advantages of colonies besides commerce. Selfishness of commercial views.

The sovereignty of the Crown I understand. The sovereignty of the British legislature out of Britain I do not understand.

The *fear* of being *thought weak* is a timidity and weakness of the worst sort, as it betrays into a persisting in errors, that may be much more mischievous, than the appearance of weakness. A great and powerful state, like this, has no cause for such timidity.

Acknowledging and correcting an error shows great magnanimity. Small states and small republics cannot afford to do so.

America not in the realm of England or Great Britain? No man in America thinks himself exempt from the jurisdiction of the Crown, and of the Assemblies, or has any such private judgment.


The agitation of the question of rights makes it now necessary to settle a constitution for the colonies.

Restrictions should be only for the general good. Endeavour to convince reasonable creatures by reason. Try your hands with me.

— Never think of it. They are reasonable creatures. Reasonable laws will not require force.

I observe two or three Scotch lords protest. Many more voted against the repeal. Colonies settled before the union. Query; If the Parliament had a jurisdiction over the colonies by the first settlement, had they a right to introduce new legislators? Could they sell or commute the right with other nations? Can they introduce the peers of Ireland and Commons, and the States of Holland, and make them legislators of the colonies? How could Scotland acquire a right to legislation over English colonies, but by consent of the colonies themselves?

I am a subject of the Crown of Great Britain, — have ever been a loyal one, — have partaken of its favors. I write here with freedom, relying on the magnanimity of the Parliament. I say nothing to your Lordships, that I have not been indulged to say to the Commons. Your Lordships' names are to your Protest, therefore I think I ought to put mine to the answer. — Desire what I have said may not be imputed to the colonies. I am a private person, and do not write by their direction. I am over here to solicit, in behalf of my colony, a closer communication with the Crown.



SECOND PROTEST.

TALK with Bollan on this head. Query ; Courts of common law ? Particular colonies drained, — all drained, as it would all come home. Those, that would pay most of the tax, would have least of it spent at home. It must go to the conquered colonies. The view of maps deceives.

All breach of the constitution. Juries better to be trusted. Have rather an interest in suppressing smugglers. Nature of smuggling. It is picking of pockets. All oppressions take their rise from some plea of utility ; often in appearance only.

The clamor of multitudes. It is good to attend to it. It is wiser to foresee and avoid it. It is wise, when neither foreseen nor avoided, to correct the measures that give occasion to it. Glad the majority have that wisdom.

Wish your Lordships had attended to that other great article of the palladium ; “Taxes shall not be laid but by *common consent* in Parliament.” We Americans were not here to give our consent.

My duty to the King, and justice to my country, will, I hope, justify me, if I likewise *protest*, which I now do with all humility in behalf of myself and of every American, and of our posterity, against your Declaratory Bill, that the Parliament of Great Britain has not, never had, and of right never can have, with-

out consent, given either before or after, power to make laws of sufficient force to bind the subjects in America in any case whatever, and particularly in taxation.

I can only judge of others by myself. I have some little property in America. I will freely spend nineteen shillings in the pound to defend my right of giving or refusing the other shilling ; and, after all, if I cannot defend that right, I can retire cheerfully with my little family into the boundless woods of America, which are sure to afford freedom and subsistence to any man, who can bait a hook or pull a trigger.

OBSERVATIONS
ON
PASSAGES IN A PAMPHLET,
ENTITLED
“GOOD HUMOR,
OR
A WAY WITH THE COLONIES.
LONDON, 1766.”*

“THE reply of the Governor of Massachusetts to the Assembly’s answer is in the same consistent style; and affords still a stronger proof, as well of his own ingenuity, honor, and integrity, as of the furious and enthusiastic spirit of the province.”

They knew the Governor to be, as it afterwards turned out, their enemy and calumniator in private letters to government here.

“It had been more becoming the state of the colonies, always dear to Britain, and ever cherished and defended by it, to have remonstrated in terms of filial duty and obedience.”

* The passages included within quotation marks are extracts from the pamphlet, and the sentence following each contains Dr. Franklin’s observations.

How ignorant is this writer of facts ! How many of their remonstrances were rejected !

“They must give us leave in our turn to except against their demonstration of legal exemption.”

There never was any occasion of legal exemption from what they never had been subject to.

“But then it is to be further observed, that this same method of arguing is equally favorable to governors as governed, and to the mother country as the colonies.”

Here is the old mistake of all these writers. The people of the mother country are subjects, not governors. The King only is sovereign in both countries.

“The colonies will no longer think it equitable to insist upon immunities, which the people of Great Britain do not enjoy.”

Why not, if they have a right to them ?

“To claim a right of being taxed by their Assemblies only, appears to have too much the air of independence ; and though they are not represented here, would give them an immunity beyond the inhabitants of this island.”

It is a right, however ; what signifies what *air* it has ? The inhabitants being freeholders ought to have the same. If they have it not, they are injured. Then rectify what is amiss among yourselves ; and do not make it a justification of more wrong.

“Or could they hope to procure any advantages from one hundred representatives ? Common sense answers all this in the negative.”

Why not, as well as Scotland from forty-five, or rather sixty-one ? Common sense, on the contrary, says, that a body of one hundred votes in Parliament will always be worth the attention of any ministry ;

and the fear of offending them will make every minister cautious of injuring the rights of their country, lest they join with his opposers in Parliament.

“Therefore the interest of Great Britain and that of the colonies is the same.”

All this argument of the interest of Britain and the colonies being the *same* is fallacious and unsatisfactory. Partners in trade have a *common* interest, which is the same, the flourishing of the partnership business; but they may, moreover, have each a *separate* interest, and, in pursuit of that *separate* interest, one of them may endeavour to impose on the other, may cheat him in the accounts, may draw to himself more than his share of the profits, may put upon the other more than an equal share of the expense and burden. Their having a common interest is no security against such injustice. The landholders of Great Britain have a common interest, and yet they injure one another in the inequality of the land-tax. The majority in Parliament, being favored in the proportions, will never consent to do justice to the minority by a more equal assessment.

“But what reasonable ground of apprehension can there be, that the British Parliament should be ignorant of so plain a matter, as that the interests of Britain and the colonies are the same?”

If the Parliament is so knowing and so just, how comes it to restrain Ireland in its manufactures, America in its trade? Why may not an Irishman or an American make the same manufactures, and carry

them to the same ports, as an Englishman? In many instances Britain shows a selfish regard to her own interest, in prejudice of the colonies. America therefore has no confidence in her equity.

“But I can conceive no earthly security better, none indeed so good, as that which depends upon the wisdom and integrity of a British King and Parliament.”

Suppose seats in your House of Commons hereditary, as those of the House of Lords; or suppose the Commons to be nominated by the King, or chosen by the Lords; could you then rely upon them? If your members were to be chosen by the people of Ireland, could you then rely upon them? Could you depend upon their wisdom and integrity as a security, the best possible, for your rights? And wherein is our case different, if the people of England choose legislators for the people of America?

“If they have a spark of virtue left, they will blush to be found in a posture of hostility against Great Britain.”

There was no posture of hostility in America, but Britain put herself in a posture of hostility against America. Witness the landing of the troops in Boston, 1768.

OBSERVATIONS

ON PASSAGES IN

“A LETTER

FROM

A MERCHANT IN LONDON

TO

HIS NEPHEW IN NORTH AMERICA.

LONDON, 1766.”

“THE honest indignation you express against those artifices and frauds, those robberies and insults, which lost us the hearts and affections of the Indians, is particularly to be commended; for these were the things, as you justly observed, which involved us in the most bloody and expensive war, that ever was known.”

This is wickedly intended by the author, Dean Tucker, to represent the North-Americans as the cause of the war. Whereas, it was in fact begun by the French, who seized the goods and persons of the English traders on the Ohio, who encroached on the King's land in Nova Scotia, and took a fort from the Ohio Company by force of arms, which induced England to make reprisals at sea, and to send Braddock to recover the fort on the Ohio, whence came on the war.

“By the spirit of Magna Charta all taxes laid on by Parliament are constitutional, legal taxes.”

There is no doubt but taxes laid by Parliament, where the Parliament has jurisdiction, are legal taxes; but does it follow, that taxes laid by the Parliament of England on Scotland before the union, on Guernsey, Jersey, Ireland, Hanover, or any other dominions of the Crown not within the realm, are therefore legal? These writers against the colonies all bewilder themselves, by supposing the colonies within the realm, which is not the case, nor ever was. This then is the *spirit* of the constitution, that taxes shall not be laid without the consent of those to be taxed. The colonies were not then in being, and therefore nothing relating to them could be *literally* expressed. As the Americans are now *without* the realm, and not of the jurisdiction of Parliament, the spirit of the British constitution dictates, that they should be taxed only by *their own* representatives, as the English are by theirs.

“Now the first emigrants, who settled in America, were certainly English subjects, subject to the laws and jurisdiction of Parliament, and consequently to parliamentary taxes, before the emigration, and therefore subject afterwards, unless some legal constitutional exemption can be produced.”

This position supposes, that Englishmen can never be out of the jurisdiction of Parliament. It may as well be said, that wherever an Englishman resides, that country is *England*. While an Englishman resides in England he is undoubtedly subject to its

laws. If he goes into a foreign country, he is subject to the laws and government he finds there. If he finds no government or laws there, he is subject there to none, till he and his companions, if he has any, make laws for themselves; and this was the case of the first settlers in America. Otherwise, and if they carried the English laws and power of Parliament with them, what advantage could the Puritans propose to themselves by going, since they would have been as subject to bishops, spiritual courts, tithes, and statutes relating to the church, in America as in England? Can the Dean, on his principles, tell how it happens, that those laws, the game acts, the statutes for laborers, and an infinity of others, made before and since the emigration, are not in force in America, nor ever were?

"Now, upon the first settling of an English colony, and before ever you Americans could have chosen any representatives, and therefore before any assembly of such representatives could have possibly met, — to whose laws and to what legislative power were you then subject? To the English, most undoubtedly; for you could have been subject to no other."

The author here appears quite ignorant of the fact. The colonies carried no law with them; they carried only a power of making laws, or adopting such parts of the English law, or of any other law, as they should think suitable to their circumstances. The first settlers of Connecticut, for instance, at their first meeting in that country, finding themselves out of all

jurisdiction of other governments, resolved and enacted, that, till a code of laws should be prepared and agreed to, they would be governed by *the law of Moses*, as contained in the Old Testament.

If the first settlers had no right to expect a better constitution, than the English, what fools were they for going over, to encounter all the hardships and perils of new settlements in a wilderness! For these were so many additions to what they suffered at home, from tyrannical and oppressive institutions in church and state; with a subtraction of all their old enjoyments of the conveniences and comforts of an old settled country, friends, neighbours, relations, and homes.

“Suppose, therefore, that the Crown had been so ill advised as to have granted a charter to any city or county here in England, pretending to exempt them from *the power and jurisdiction of an English Parliament*. Is it possible for you to believe an absurdity so gross and glaring?”

The American settlers *needed no exemption* from the power of Parliament; they were necessarily exempted, as soon as they landed out of its jurisdiction. Therefore, all this rhetorical paragraph is founded on a mistake of the author, and the absurdity he talks of is of his own making.

“Good heavens! What a sudden alteration is this! An American pleading for the extension of the prerogative of the Crown! Yes, if it could make for his cause; and for extending it, too, beyond all the bounds of law, of reason, and of common sense!”

What stuff! Why may not an American plead for the just prerogatives of the Crown? And is it not a just prerogative of the Crown to give the subjects leave to settle in a foreign country, if they think it necessary to ask such leave? Was the Parliament at all considered, or consulted, in making those first settlements? Or did any lawyer then think it necessary?

"Now this clause, which is nothing more than the renunciation of absolute prerogative, is quoted in our newspapers, as if it was a renunciation of the rights of Parliament to raise taxes."

It was not a renunciation of the rights of Parliament. There was no need of such a renunciation, for Parliament had not even pretended to such a right. But, since the royal faith was pledged by the King for himself and his successors; how can any succeeding King, without violating that faith, ever give his assent to an act of Parliament for such taxation?

"Nay, many of your colony charters assert quite the contrary, by containing the express reservations of parliamentary rights, particularly that great one of levying taxes."

A fib, Mr. Dean. In one charter *only*, and that a late one, is the Parliament mentioned; and the right reserved is only that of laying duties on commodities imported into England from the colony or exported to it.

"And those charters, which do not make such provisions in express terms, must be supposed virtually to im-

ply them ; because the law and constitution will not allow, that the King can do more either at home or abroad by the prerogative royal, than the law and constitution authorize him to do."

Suppositions and *implications* will not weigh in these important cases. No law or constitution forbade the King's doing what he did in granting those charters.

"Confuted, most undoubtedly, you are beyond the possibility of a reply, as far as the law and constitution of the realm are concerned in this question."

This is hallooing before you are out of the wood.

"Strange, that though the British Parliament has been, from the beginning, thus unreasonable, thus unjust and cruel towards you, by levying taxes on many commodities outwards and inwards" —

False ! Never before the restoration. The Parliament, it is acknowledged, have made many oppressive laws relating to America, which have passed without opposition, partly through the weakness of the colonies, partly through their inattention to the full extent of their rights; while employed in labor to procure the necessaries of life. But that is a wicked guardian, and a shameless one, who first takes advantage of the weakness incident to minority, cheats and imposes on his pupil, and, when the pupil comes of age, urges those very impositions as precedents to justify continuing them and adding others.

"But surely you will not dare to say, that we refuse your votes when you come hither to offer them, and choose to poll. You cannot have the face to assert, that on an election-day any difference is put between the

vote of a man born in America, and of one born here in England."

This is all banter and insult, when you know the impossibility of a million of freeholders coming over sea to vote here. If their freeholds in America are within the realm, why have they not, in virtue of these freeholds, a right to vote in your elections, as well as an English freeholder? Sometimes we are told, that our estates are by our charters all in the manor of East Greenwich, and therefore all in England; and yet have we any right to vote among the voters of East Greenwich? Can we trade to the same ports? In this very paragraph, you suppose that we cannot vote in England, if we come hither, till we have by purchase acquired a right; therefore neither we nor our estates are represented in England.

"The cause of your complaint is this; that you live at too great a distance from the mother country to be present at our English elections; and that, in consequence of this distance, the freedom of our towns, or the freeholds in our counties, as far as voting is concerned, are not worth attending to. It may be so; but pray consider, if you yourselves choose to make it inconvenient for you to come and vote, by retiring into distant countries, — what is that to us?"

This is all beside the mark. The Americans are by their constitutions provided with a representation, and therefore neither need nor desire any in the British Parliament. They have never asked any such thing. They only say, Since we have a right to grant our own money to the King, since we have Assemblies where we are represented for such purposes,

why will you meddle, out of your sphere, take the money that is ours, and give us yours, without our consent ?

“ Yes, it is, and you demand it too with a loud voice, full of anger, of defiance, and denunciation.”

An absolute falsehood! We never demanded in any manner, much less in the manner you mention, that the mother country should change her constitution.

“ In the great metropolis, and in many other cities, landed property itself hath no representative in Parliament. Copy-holds and lease-holds of various kinds have none likewise, though of ever so great a value.”

Copy-holds and lease-holds are supposed to be represented in the original landlord of whom they are held. Thus all the land in England is in fact represented, notwithstanding what he here says. As to those, who have no landed property in a county, the allowing them to vote for legislators is an impropriety. They are transient inhabitants, and not so connected with the welfare of the state, which they may quit when they please, as to qualify them properly for such privilege.

“ And, besides all this, it is well known that the East India Company, which have such vast settlements, and which dispose of the fate of kings and kingdoms abroad, have not so much as a single member, or even a single vote, *quatenus* a company, to watch over their interests at home. And may not their property, perhaps a little short of one hundred millions sterling, as much deserve to be represented in Parliament, as the scattered townships or straggling houses of some of your provinces in America ? ”

By this argument it may be proved, that no man in England has a vote. The clergy have none as clergymen ; the lawyers, none as lawyers ; the physicians, none as physicians ; and so on. But if they have votes as freeholders, that is sufficient ; and that no freeholder in America has for a representative in the British Parliament. The stockholders are many of them foreigners, and all may be so when they please, as nothing is more easy than the transferring of stock and conveying property beyond sea by bills of exchange. Such uncertain subjects are, therefore, not properly vested with rights relating to government.

— “ Yet we raise no commotions ; we neither ring the alarm-bell, nor sound the trumpet, and submit to be taxed without being represented ; and taxed, let me tell you, for your sakes. All was granted when you cried for help.”

This is wickedly false. While the colonies were weak and poor, not a penny or a single soldier was ever spared by Britain for their defence. But as soon as the trade with them became an object, and a fear arose that the French would seize that trade and deprive her of it, she sent troops to America *unasked*. And she now brings this account of the expense against us, which should be rather carried to her own merchants and manufacturers. We joined our troops and treasure with hers to help her in this war. Of this no notice is taken. To refuse to pay a just debt is knavish ; not to return an obligation is ingratitude ; but to demand payment of a debt where none has

been contracted, to forge a bond or an obligation in order to demand what was never due, is villany. Every year both King and Parliament, during the war, acknowledged, that we had done more than our part, and made us some return, which is equivalent to a receipt in full, and entirely sets aside this monstrous claim.

By all means redress your own grievances. If you are not just to your own people, how can we trust you? We ask no representation among you; but if you have any thing wrong among yourselves, rectify it, and do not make one injustice a precedent and plea for doing another. That would be increasing evil in the world instead of diminishing it.

You need not be concerned about the number to be added from America. We do not desire to come among you; but you may make some room for your own additional members, by removing those that are sent by the rotten boroughs.

"I must now tell you, that every member of Parliament represents you, and me, and our interests in all essential points, just as much as if we had voted for him. For although one place or one set of men may elect and send him up to Parliament, yet, when once he becomes a member, he is the equal guardian of all."

In the same manner, Mr. Dean, are the Pope and Cardinals representatives of the whole Christian church. Why don't you obey them?

"This, then, being the case, it therefore follows, that our Birminghams, Manchesters, Leeds, Halifaxes, &c. and your Bostons, New-Yorks, and Philadelphias, are as

really, though not so nominally, represented, as any part whatsoever of the British empire ; and that each of these places have in fact, instead of one or two, not less than five hundred and fifty-eight guardians in the British Senate."

What occasion is there then, my dear Sir, of being at the trouble of elections ? The Peers alone would do as well for our guardians, though chosen by the King, or born such. If their present number is too small, his Majesty may be good enough to add five hundred and fifty-eight, or make the present House of Commons and their heirs-male Peers for ever. If having a vote in elections would be of no use to us, how is it of any to you ? Elections are the cause of much tumult, riot, contention, and mischief. Get rid of them at once, and for ever.

— "It proves that no man ought to pay any tax but that only to which the member of his own town, city, or county hath particularly assented."

You seem to take your nephew for a simpleton, Mr. Dean. Every one, who votes for a representative, knows and intends, that the majority is to govern, and that the consent of the majority is to be understood as the consent of the whole ; that being ever the case in all deliberative assemblies.

"The doctrine of implication is the very thing to which you object, and against which you have raised so many batteries of popular noise and clamor."

How far, my dear Sir, would you yourself carry the doctrine of implication ? If important positions are to be implied, when not expressed, I suppose you

can have no objection to their being implied where some expression countenances the implication. If you should say to a friend, "I am your humble servant, Sir," ought he to imply from thence, that you will clean his shoes?

"And consequently you must maintain, that all those in your several provinces who have no votes," &c.

No freeholder in North America is without a vote. Many, who have no freeholds, have nevertheless a vote; *which, indeed, I don't think was necessary to be allowed.*

"You have your choice, whether you will accept of my price for your tobacco; or, after bringing it here, whether you will carry it away, and try your fortune at another market."

A great kindness this, to oblige me first to bring it here, that the expense of another voyage and freight may deter me from carrying it away, and oblige me to take the price you are pleased to offer.

"But I have no alternative allowed, being obliged to buy yours at your own price, or else to pay such a duty for the tobacco of other countries, as must amount to a prohibition. Nay, in order to favor your plantations, I am not permitted to plant this herb on my own estate, though the soil should be ever so proper for it."

You lay a duty on the tobacco of other countries, because you must pay money for that, but get ours in exchange for your manufactures.

Tobacco is not permitted to be planted in England, lest it should interfere with corn necessary for your subsistence. Rice you cannot raise. It requires

eleven months. Your summer is too short. Nature, not the laws, denies you this product.

“And what will you say in relation to hemp? The Parliament now gives you a bounty of eight pounds per ton for exporting your hemp from North America, but will allow me nothing for growing it here in England.”

Did ever any North-American bring his hemp to England for this bounty? We have yet not enough for our own consumption. We begin to make our own cordage. You want to suppress that manufacture, and would do it by getting the raw material from us. You want to be supplied with hemp for your manufactures, and Russia demands money. These were the motives for giving what you are pleased to call a *bounty* to us. We thank you for your bounties. We love you, and therefore must be obliged to you for being good to yourselves. You do not encourage raising hemp in England, because you know it impoverishes the richest grounds; your landholders are all against it. What you call bounties given by Parliament and the Society, are nothing more than inducements offered us, to persuade us to leave employments; that are more profitable, and engage in such as would be less so without your bounty; to quit a business profitable to ourselves, and engage in one that shall be profitable to you. This is the true spirit of all your bounties.

Your duties on foreign articles are from the same motives. Pitch, tar, and turpentine used to cost you five pounds a barrel, when you had them from for-

eigners, who used you ill into the bargain, thinking you could not do without them. You gave a bounty of five shillings a barrel to the colonies, and they have brought you such plenty as to reduce the price to ten shillings a barrel. Take back your bounties, when you please, since you upbraid us with them. Buy your indigo, pitch, silk, and tobacco where you please, and let us buy our manufactures where we please. I fancy we shall be gainers. As to the great kindness of these five hundred and fifty-eight parliamentary guardians of American privileges, who can forbear smiling, that has seen the Navigation Act, the Hatters' Act, the Steel-Hammer and Slit-Iron Act, and numberless others restraining our trade, obstructing our manufactures, and forbidding us the use of the gifts of God and nature. Hopeful guardians, truly ! Can it be imagined, that, if we had a reasonable share in electing them, from time to time, they would thus have used us !

— “ And must have seen abundant reason before this time to have altered your former hasty and rash opinion.”

We see in you abundance of self-conceit, but no convincing argument.

“ Have you no concerts or assemblies, no play-houses or gaming-houses, now subsisting ? Have you put down your horse-races and other such like sports and diversions ? And is the luxury of your tables, and the variety and profusion of your wines and liquors, quite banished from among you ? ”

This should be a caution to Americans, how they indulge for the future in British luxuries. See here

British generosity ! The people, who have made you poor by their worthless, I mean useless, commodities, would now make you poorer by taxing you ; and from the very inability you have brought on yourselves, by a partiality for their fashions and modes of living, of which they have had the whole profit, would now urge your ability to pay the taxes they are pleased to impose. Reject, then, their commerce as well as their pretended power of taxing. Be frugal and industrious, and you will be free. The luxury of your tables, which could be known to the English only by your hospitably entertaining them, is by these grateful guests now made a charge against you, and given as a reason for taxing you.

“Be it also allowed, as it is commonly asserted, that the public debt of the several provinces amounts to eight hundred thousand pounds sterling.”

I have heard, Mr. Dean, that you have studied political arithmetic more than divinity, but, by this sample of it, I fear to very little purpose. If personal service were the matter in question, out of so many millions of souls, so many men might be expected, whether here or in America. But when raising money is the question, it is not the number of souls, but the wealth in possession, that shows the ability. If we were twice as numerous as the people of England, it would not follow that we are half as able. There are numbers of single estates in England, each worth a hundred of the best of ours in North Amer-

ica. The city of London alone is worth all the provinces of North America.

“When each of us pays, one with another, twenty shillings per head, we expect that each of you should pay the sum of one shilling! Blush, blush, for shame at your perverse and scandalous behaviour!”

Blush for shame at your own ignorance, Mr. Dean, who do not know, that the colonies have taxes, and heavy ones of their own to pay, to support their own civil and military establishments; and that the shillings should not be reckoned upon heads, but upon pounds. There never was a sillier argument.

“Witness our county taxes, militia taxes, poor taxes, vagrant taxes, bridge taxes, high-road and turnpike taxes, watch taxes, lamp and scavenger taxes, &c. &c. &c.”

And have we not all these taxes too, as well as you, and our provincial or public taxes besides? And over and above, have we not new roads to make, new bridges to build, churches and colleges to found, and a number of other things to do, that your fathers have done for you, and which you inherit from them, but which we are obliged to pay for out of our present labor?

“We require of you to contribute only one shilling to every twenty from each of us. Yes, and this shilling too to be spent in your own country, for the support of your own civil and military establishments.”

How fond he is of this one shilling and twenty. Who has desired this of you, and who can trust you to lay it out? If you are thus to provide for our civil and military establishments, what use will there afterwards be for our Assemblies?

"And yet, small and inconsiderable as this share is, you will not pay it. No, you will not! and it is at our peril if we demand it."

No! we will pay nothing on compulsion.

"For how, and in what manner, do you prove your allegations? Why truly by breaking forth into riots and insurrections, and by committing every kind of violence that can cause trade to stagnate, and industry to cease."

The Americans never brought riots as arguments. It is unjust to charge two or three riots in particular places upon all America. Look for arguments in the petitions and remonstrances of the *Assemblies*, who detest riots, of which there are ten in England for one in America.

"Perhaps you meant to insinuate (though it was prudence in you not to speak out), that the late Act was ill-contrived and ill-timed, because it was made at a juncture when neither the French were in your rear to frighten, nor the English fleets and armies on your front to force you to a compliance."

It seems a prevailing opinion in England, that fear of their French neighbours would have kept the colonies in obedience to the Parliament, and that if the French power had not been subdued, no opposition would have been made to the Stamp Act. A very groundless notion. On the contrary, had the French power continued, to which the Americans might have had recourse in the case of oppression from Parliament, Parliament would not have dared to oppose them. It was the employment of fifty thousand men by land and a fleet on the coast, for five years, to subdue the French only. Half the land army were provin-

cials. Suppose the British twenty-five thousand had acted by themselves, with all the colonies against them ; what time would it have taken to subdue the whole ?

“Or shall we give you entirely up, unless you will submit to be governed by the same laws as we are, and pay something towards maintaining yourselves ?”

The impudence of this language to colonies, who have *ever* maintained themselves, is astonishing ! Except the *late attempted* colonies of Nova Scotia and Georgia, no colony ever received maintenance in any shape from Britain ; and the grants to those colonies were mere jobs for the benefit of ministerial favorites, *English* or *Scotchmen*.

“Whether we are to give you entirely up, and, after having obliged you to pay your debts, whether we are to have no further connexion with you as a dependent state or colony” —

Throughout all America English debts are more easily recovered than in England, the process being shorter and less expensive, and land subject to execution for the payment of debts. Evidence, taken *ex parte* in England, to prove a debt, is allowed in their courts, and during the whole dispute there was *not one single instance* of any English merchant’s meeting with the least obstruction in any process or suit commenced there for that purpose.

“Externally, by being severed from the British empire, you will be excluded from cutting logwood in the bays of Campeachy and Honduras, from fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, on the coast of Labrador, or in the bay of St. Lawrence, &c.”

We have no use for logwood, but to remit it for your fineries. We joined in conquering the Bay of St. Lawrence and its dependencies. As to the Sugar Islands, if you won't allow us to trade with them, perhaps you will allow them to trade with us ; or do you intend to starve them ? Pray keep your bounties, and let us hear no more of them ;— and your troops, who never protected us against the savages, nor are fit for such a service ;— and the three hundred thousand pounds, which you seem to think so much clear profit to us, when, in fact, they never spend a penny among us, but they have for it from us a penny's worth. The manufactures they buy are brought from you ; the provisions we could, as we always did, sell elsewhere for as much money. Holland, France, and Spain would all be glad of our custom, and pleased to see the separation.

“ And after all, and in spite of any thing you can do, we in Britain shall still retain the greatest part of your European trade, because we shall give a better price for many of your commodities, than you can have any where else, and we shall sell to you several of our manufactures, especially in the woollen-stuff and metal way, on cheaper terms.”

Oho ! Then you will still trade with us ! But can that be without our trading with you ? And how can you buy our oil, if we catch no whales ?

“ The leaders of your parties will then be setting all their engines to work, to make fools become the dupes of fools.”

Just as they do in England.

“ And instead of having troops to defend them, and those troops paid by Great Britain, they must defend themselves, and pay themselves.”

To defend them ! — To oppress, insult, and murder them, as at Boston !

“ Not to mention that the expenses of your civil governments will be necessarily increased ; and that a fleet more or less must belong to each province for guarding their coasts, ensuring the payment of duties, and the like.”

These evils are all imaginations of the author. The same were predicted to the Netherlands, but have never yet happened. But suppose all of them together, and many more, it would be better to bear them than submit to parliamentary taxation. We might still have something we could call our own. But, under the power claimed by Parliament, we have not a single sixpence.

The author of this pamphlet, Dean Tucker, has always been haunted with the fear of the seat of government being soon to be removed to America. He has, in his Tracts on Commerce, some just notions in matters of trade and police, mixed with many wild and chimerical fancies totally impracticable. He once proposed, as a defence of the colonies, to clear the woods for the width of a mile all along behind them, that the Indians might not be able to cross the cleared part without being seen ; forgetting that there is a night in every twenty-four hours.

OBSERVATIONS
ON PASSAGES IN
“A N I N Q U I R Y
INTO
THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF THE DISPUTES
BETWEEN
THE BRITISH COLONIES IN AMERICA
AND
THEIR MOTHER COUNTRY.
LONDON, 1769.”

“SUPREME power and authority must not, cannot, reside equally every where throughout an empire.”

Writers on this subject often confuse themselves with the idea, that all the king's dominions make one state, which they do not, nor ever did since the conquest. Our kings have ever had dominions not subject to the English Parliament. At first the provinces of France, of which Jersey and Guernsey remain, always governed by their own laws, appealing to the King in Council only, and not to our courts or the House of Lords. Scotland was in the same situation before the union. It had the same King, but a separate Parliament, and the Parliament of England had no jurisdiction over it. Ireland the same in truth, though

the British Parliament has *usurped* a dominion over it. The colonies were originally settled in the idea of such extrinsic dominions of the King, and of the King only. Hanover is now such a dominion.

"If each Assembly, in this case, were absolute, they would, it is evident, form not one only, but so many different governments perfectly independent of one another."

This is the only clear idea of their real present condition. Their only bond of union is the King.

"Now that of Great Britain being exactly the kind of government I have been speaking of, the absolute impossibility of vesting the American Assemblies with an authority in all respects equal to that of the mother country, without actually dismembering the British empire, must naturally occur to every one."

It would not be dismembering it, if it never was united, as, in truth, it never yet has been. Breaking the present union between England and Scotland would be dismembering the empire; but no such union has yet been formed between Britain and the colonies.

"Where divers remote and distant countries are united under one government, an equal and fair representation becomes almost impracticable, or, at least, extremely inconvenient."

Here appears the excellency of the invention of colony government, by separate, independent legislatures. By this means, the remotest parts of a great empire may be as well governed as the centre; misrule, oppressions of proconsuls, and discontents and rebellions thence arising, prevented. By this means

the power of a king may be extended without inconvenience over territories of any dimensions, how great soever. America was thus happily governed in all its different and remote settlements, by the Crown and their own Assemblies, till the new politics took place of governing it by one Parliament, which have no succeeded and never will.

“Should we carry our supposition much farther, the inconveniences attending such long journeys would be very great, although not interrupted by water.”

Water, so far from being an obstruction, is a means of facilitating such assemblies from distant countries. A voyage of three thousand miles by sea is more easily performed, than a journey of one thousand by land.

It is, in my opinion, by no means impracticable to bring representatives conveniently from America to Britain ; but I think the present mode of letting them govern themselves by their own Assemblies much preferable. They will always be better governed ; and the Parliament has business enough here with its own internal concerns.

— “Whether they should not be allowed such a form of government, as will best secure to them their just rights and natural liberties.”

They have it already. All the difficulties have arisen from the British Parliament attempting to deprive them of it.

“Is it not, let me ask, most egregious folly, so loudly to condemn the Stuart family, who would have governed

England without a Parliament, when at the same time we would, almost all of us, govern America upon principles not at all more justifiable ?”

Very just. Only that the arbitrary government of a single person is more eligible, than the arbitrary government of a body of men. A single man may be afraid or ashamed of doing injustice ; a body is never either one or the other, if it is strong enough. It cannot apprehend assassination, and by dividing the shame among them, it is so little apiece that no one minds it.

— “ And consistently with our rights of sovereignty over them.”

I am surprised, that a writer, who, in other respects, appears often very reasonable, should talk of *our sovereignty* over the colonies ! As if every individual in England was a part of a sovereign over America ! The King is the sovereign of all.

The Americans think, that, while they can retain the right of disposing of their own money, they shall thereby secure all their other rights. They have, therefore, not yet disputed your other pretensions.

“ That England has an undeniable right to consider America as a part of her dominions is a fact, I presume, which can never be questioned.”

You do, indeed, *presume* too much. America *is not* part of the dominions of *England*, but of *the King's dominion*. England is a dominion itself, and has no dominions.

“ I will only observe at present, that it was England, in some sense, which at first gave them being.”

In some sense ! In what sense ? They were not planted at her expense. As to defence, all parts of the king's dominion have mutually always contributed to the defence one of the other. The man in America, who contributes sixpence towards an armament against the common enemy, contributes as much to the common protection as if he lived in England.

They have always been ready to contribute, but by voluntary grants according to their rights ; nor has any Englishman yet had the effrontery to deny this truth.

“ If they are at liberty to choose what sums to raise, as well as the manner of raising them, it is scarcely to be doubted, that their allowance will be found extremely short. And it is evident they may, upon this footing, absolutely refuse to pay any taxes at all. And if so, it would be much better for England, if it were consistent with her safety, to disclaim all further connexion with them, than to continue her protection to them wholly at her own expense.”

Why is it to be doubted, that they will not grant what they ought to grant ? No complaint was ever yet made of their refusal or deficiency. He says, if they are not without reserve obliged to comply with the requisitions of the ministry, they may absolutely refuse to pay any taxes at all. Let him apply this to the British Parliament, and the reasoning will equally prove, that the Commons ought likewise to comply absolutely with the requisitions of the ministry. Yet I have seen lately the ministry demand four shillings in the pound, and the Parliament grant

but three. But Parliaments and provincial Assemblies may always be safely trusted with this power of refusing or granting in part. Ministers will often demand too much. But Assemblies, being acquainted properly with the occasion, will always grant what is necessary. As protection is, as I said before, mutual and equal in proportion to every man's property, the colonies have been drawn into all British wars, and have annoyed the enemies of Britain as much in proportion as any other subjects of the king, equal in numbers and property. Therefore, this account has always balanced itself.

"It may further be observed, that their proceedings are not quite so rapid and precipitate, as those of the Privy Council; so that, should it be found unnecessary, they will have more time to petition or make remonstrances. For this privilege, the least which a subject can enjoy, is not to be denied them."

Late experience has fully shown, that American petitions and remonstrances are little regarded in Britain. The privilege of petitioning has been attempted to be wrested from them. The Assemblies uniting to petition has been called *a flagitious attempt*, in the Ministers' letters; and such Assemblies as would persist in it have therefore been dissolved.

It is a joke to talk thus to us, when we know that Parliament, so far from solemnly canvassing our petitions, has refused to receive or read them.

"Our right of legislation over the Americans, unrepresented as they are, is the point in question. This right is asserted by most, doubted of by some, and wholly disclaimed by a few."

I am one of those few ; but am persuaded the time is not far distant, when the few will become the many ; for, *Magna est veritas et prevalebit*.

“But, to put the matter in a stronger light, the question, I think, should be whether we have a general right of making slaves, or not.”

A very proper state of the question.

“And the Americans may be treated with as much equity, and even tenderness, by the Parliament of Great Britain, as by their own Assemblies. This, at least, is possible, though perhaps not very probable.”

How can we Americans believe this, when we see almost half the nation paying but one shilling and sixpence in the pound, while others pay full four shillings ; and that there is not virtue and honesty enough in Parliament to rectify this iniquity ? How can we suppose they will be just to us at such a distance, when they are not just to one another ? It is not, indeed, as the author says, *very probable*. The *unequal representation*, too, that prevails in this kingdom, they are so far from having virtue enough to attempt to remedy, that they make use of it as an argument, why we should have no representation at all.

“To the equity of this measure [an American representation in Parliament] the Americans themselves, I presume, could have nothing fairly to object.”

Provided they had an equitable number of representatives allowed them.

“As to those, indeed, which attend only the choosing a new Parliament, they may, perhaps, by proper means, be considerably lessened, though not wholly removed.”

Let the old members continue till superseded by new ones from America.

“But should the King at any time be disposed to dissolve his Parliament, and convene a new one, as hath been often done, only at a few weeks’ notice, this, upon the same footing, could not be effected.”

By the above it might.

“The method, however, of examining and deciding contested elections, when necessary, must undoubtedly with respect to America be set, in a great measure, upon a different footing from that at present practised in this kingdom.”

Let the members be chosen by the American Assemblies, and disputed elections settled there, if any ; but there would be none.

“It is not in the least, at this time, probable, that an American representation will ever be convened in England.”

I think so too ; where neither side approve a match, it is not likely to be made.

“They will be almost wholly excluded the benefit of private Acts, by reason of the immoderate expense.”

They may make them at home. The expense of private Acts in England is shamefully great.

— “The repairing of highways, making rivers navigable, and cutting canals, with a variety of other things of the like kind, wherein recourse must be had to Parliament, and yet the expense be supplied chiefly, if not wholly, by private persons.”

All this may be done by their own laws at home.

“This mode of compromise may as well be waived, as it cannot be effected, it is evident, without immense trouble.”

Very little.

"And if they should be divided in their sentiments upon it, and uncertain what measures to adopt and follow, it cannot be matter of just wonder and censure."

Then leave it as it is. It was very well, till you attempted alterations and novelties.

"In respect to the article of levying taxes, it should be deemed only a matter of grace, to be resumed at pleasure."

Your humble servant! We thank you for nothing. Keep up your claim, and make the most of it.

"To be placed upon a level with the rest of the subjects of the British Crown, is the utmost the colonies can challenge."

No. They may challenge all that was promised them by charters to encourage them to settle there. They have performed their part of the contract, and therefore have a right to expect a performance of the other part. They have, by the risks and expenses they have incurred, additional merit, and are therefore to be considered as *above the level of other subjects*.

"We cannot otherwise maintain our sovereignty over it, unless our safety were actually at stake and absolutely required it."

I am quite sick of *our sovereignty*. Your safety is only endangered by quarrelling with the colonies; not by leaving them to the free enjoyment of their own liberties.

"They, who first migrated from England to settle in America, well knew, I presume, they were still to continue the subjects of the same government."

They well knew the contrary. They would never have gone, if that had been the case. They fled

from your government, which oppressed them. If they carried your government with them, and of course your laws, they had better have stayed and endured the oppression at home, and not have added to it all the hardships of making a new settlement. They carried not your laws; but, had they carried your government and laws, they would now have been subject to spiritual courts, tythes, church acts of parliament, game acts, &c. &c., which they are not, and never were since their being *out of the realm*.

“They knew they were not to be independent.”

They were to depend on the King only.

“For no one, I imagine, would doubt, if their charters granted them an inconsistent power, but that they might be justly cancelled; as no government can be supposed to alienate prerogatives necessary to its safe existence.”

Every government is supposed to be *compos mentis* when it grants charters, and shall not be allowed to plead insanity. If you break the charters, or violate them, you dissolve all ties between us.

“However, a right of sovereignty in this case we may undeniably claim and vindicate; though we might safely grant them independency.”

You may claim it; but you have not, never had, nor, I trust, ever will have it. You, that is, the people of England, cannot grant the Americans independency of the King. It can never be, but with his consent and *theirs*.

— “Preserving our sovereignty over them, although at the expense of some portion of their natural prerogatives. They partly consist of our own plantations, and partly of the conquests we have made from a nation in whose

hands it would have been dangerous for us to have continued."

Our sovereignty ! Our sovereignty for ever. Of *their*, not *our* plantations. The conquests may be yours partly ; but they are partly conquests belonging to the colonies, who joined their forces with yours in equal proportion.

" Our very being, therefore, at least as a free people, depends upon our retention of them."

Take care, then, how you use them.

" They are now treated as children. Their complaints are heard, and grievances redressed. But then they would be treated rather as slaves, having the swords of their masters perpetually held at their throats, if they should presume to offer half the indignities to the officers of the French crown, which they have often with impunity done to those of the British."

The direct contrary is true ; they are not redressed ; they are refused to be heard. Fresh oppressions and insults are continually added. English swords are now held at our throats. Every step is taking to convince us, that there is no difference in government.

" Nay, they have Assemblies of their own to redress their grievances."

It is well they have.

" And if that should be done, what marks of sovereignty will they allow *us* to enjoy ? What sort of claim will they indulge us with ? Only, I suppose, a mere titular one. And if so, would they then expect, that we should still protect them with our forces by sea and land ? Or will they themselves maintain an army and navy sufficient for that purpose ? This they certainly at present are not able to do, if they were not sheltered by the wings of Great Britain."

What would you have? Would you, the people of England, be subjects and kings at the same time? Don't be under any apprehensions for them. They will find allies and friends somewhere; and it will be worth no one's while to make them enemies, or to attack so poor a people, so numerous, and so well armed.

"Nor is there any reason to apprehend, that they should be at all formidable to England; as the number [of American representatives in Parliament] might be properly limited, as those of Scotland were at the union."

A proper limitation can only be this, that they shall from time to time have such a number of additional members, as are proportioned to their increasing share of the taxes and numbers of people.

"An exact estimate can scarcely be made of what expense their protection stands in to Great Britain."

The protection is mutual. They are always in time of war at as much expense as would be necessary to protect themselves; first, by the troops and armed ships they raise and equip; secondly, by the higher price they pay for all commodities, when drawn into war by English European quarrels; thirdly, by obstructions to the vent of their produce by general embargo.

"They are justly chargeable with a certain portion of the civil list; for this most indubitably constitutes a part of government. How this article at present is managed in England, is not now my business to enquire."

I will tell you how it is managed. The colonies maintain their governors, who are the King's repre-

sentatives ; and the King receives a quitrent from the lands in most of the colonies.

“ In many parts they are little, perhaps, or nothing at all inferior in respect of their conveniences to the mother country.”

As these differences cannot be known in Parliament here, how can you proportion and vary your taxes of America so as to make them equal and fair ? It would be undertaking what you are not qualified for, as well as doing what you have no right to do.

“ Yet it must be granted, that they know best the state of their own funds, and what taxes they can afford to pay.”

And yet you would be meddling.

“ It is very certain, that England is entitled to a great deal of gratitude from her colonies.”

The English are eternally harping on this string, the great obligation the colonies are under for protection from the French. I have shown, already, that the defence was mutual. Every man in England, and every man's estate, have been defended from the French ; but is it sense to tell any particular man, “ The nation has incurred a debt of one hundred and forty-eight millions to protect you and your estate ; and therefore you owe a great deal of gratitude to the nation ? ” He will say, and justly, “ I paid my proportion, and I am under no obligation.” The colonies, as I have shown in preceding notes, have always paid more in various ways, and besides extending your trade sometimes (from which you exclude the colonies), and for whims about the balance

of power, and for the sake of continental connexions in which they were separately unconcerned. On the other hand, they have, from their first settlement, had wars in America, in which they never engaged you. The French have never been their enemies, but on your account.

“That the late war was chiefly kindled and carried on, on your account, can scarcely be denied.”

It is denied.

— “By the steps they seem to take to shake off our sovereignty.”

Our sovereignty again ! This writer, like the Genoese queens of Corsica, deems himself a sprig of royalty !

“For as soon as they are no longer dependent upon England, they may be assured they will immediately become dependent upon France.”

We are assured of the contrary. Weak states, that are poor, are as safe as great ones that are rich. They are not objects of envy. The trade, that may be carried on with them, makes them objects of friendship. The smallest states may have great allies ; and the mutual jealousies of great nations contribute to their security.

— “And whatever reasons there might exist to dispose them in our favor in preference to the French ; yet, how far these would operate, no one can pretend to say.”

Then be careful not to use them ill. It is a better reason for using them kindly. That alone can retain their friendship. Your sovereignty will be of no use, if the people hate you. Keeping them in

obedience will cost you more, than your profits from them amount to.

“It is not, indeed, for their jealousy of their rights and liberties, but for their riotous and seditious manner of asserting them.”

Do you Englishmen then pretend to censure the colonies for riots? Look at home! I have seen, within a year, riots in the country about corn; riots about elections; riots about work-houses; riots of colliers; riots of weavers; riots of coal-heavers; riots of sawyers; riots of sailors; riots of Wilkesites; riots of government chairmen; riots of smugglers, in which custom-house officers and excisemen have been murdered, the King's armed vessels and troops fired at, &c. In America, if one mob rises, and breaks a few windows, or tars and feathers a single rascally informer, it is called *rebellion*; troops and fleets must be sent, and military execution talked of, as the decentest thing in the world. Here, indeed, one would think riots part of the mode of government.

“And if she had not thought proper to centre almost all her care, as she has done, upon making the late peace, in procuring them a safe establishment, and to sacrifice to it, in a manner, every other object, she might, at least, expect from them a more decent and dutiful demeanor.”

In the last war America kept up twenty-five thousand men at her own cost for five years, and spent many millions. Her troops were in all battles, all service. Thousands of her youth fell a sacrifice. The Crown gained an immense extent of territory, and a great number of new subjects. Britain gained a new

market for her manufactures, and recovered and secured the old one among the Indians, which the French had interrupted and annihilated. But what did the Americans gain, except that *safe establishment*, which they are now so taunted with? Lands were divided among none of them. The very fishery, which they fought to obtain, they are now restrained in. The plunder of the Havana was not for them. And this very *safe establishment* they might as well have had by treaty with the French, their neighbours, who would probably have been easily made and continued their friends, if it had not been for their connexion with Britain.

“ And it seldom happens, that any one fares the better for his insolence.”

Then don't be insolent with your power.

“ For should matters on all sides, as I hope they never will, be carried to extremities, I cannot take upon me to say but England may yet produce both a Ministry and Parliament, that would rather share them once more with the French, than totally relinquish her present pretensions.”

We have been often threatened with this wise measure of returning Canada to France. Do it when you please. Had the French power, which you were five years subduing with twenty-five thousand regulars, and twenty-five thousand of us to help you, continued at our backs ready to support and assist us, whenever we might think proper to resist your oppressions, you would never have thought of a Stamp Act for us; you would not have dared to use us as you have done. If it be so politic a measure to have enemies at hand, (as the notion is) to keep *your subjects* in obedience,

then give part of Ireland to the French to plant. Plant another French colony in the Highlands, to keep rebellious Scotland in order. Plant another on Tower Hill, to restrain your own mobs. There never was a notion more ridiculous. Don't you see the advantage you may have, if you preserve our connexion? The fifty thousand men and the fleet employed in America, during the last war, are now so much strength at liberty to be employed elsewhere.

"The legislative power of every kingdom or empire should centre in one supreme assembly."

Distinguish here what may be *convenient* from what is *fact*. Before the union it was thought *convenient*, and long wished for, that the two kingdoms should join in one parliament. But, till that union was formed, the fact was that their parliaments were distinct, and the British Parliament would not make laws for Scotland. The same fact now subsists in America. The parliaments and states are distinct; but the British Parliament has taken advantage of our minority, and usurped powers not belonging to it.

"It would be amiss, perhaps, to ask them what bounds they would be content to fix to their claims and demands upon us, as hitherto they seem to be at a loss where to stop."

They only desire, that you would leave them where you found them; repeal all your taxing laws, and return to requisitions where you would have aids from them.

"I must freely own, that whatever opinion I may have of their right, I certainly have not quite as favorable one

of their conduct, which often is neither consistent nor prudent."

They think the same of yours.

"If they are really willing we should exercise any acts of sovereignty among them at all, the imposition they have so riotously resisted might not improperly, perhaps, have been allowed better quarter."

Leave the King, who alone is the sovereign, to exercise his acts of sovereignty in appointing their governors, and in approving or disapproving their laws. But do you leave it to their choice to trade elsewhere for commodities ; to go to another shop ? No ! you say they shall buy of you, or nobody.

"Nor should mere custom, nor any charter or law in being, be allowed any great weight in the decision of this point."

The charters are sacred. Violate them, and then the present bond of union (the kingly power over us) will be broken.

"The Americans may insist upon the same rights, privileges, and exemptions, as are allowed the Irish, because of the similarity, if not identity, of their connexions with us."

Surely the Americans deserve a little more. They never put you to the trouble and expense of conquering them, as Ireland has done three times over. They never were in rebellion. — I speak now of the native Irish. The English families settled there lost no rights by their merit in conquering that country.

"But if any distinction were to be made, most certainly, of the two nations, the Americans are least entitled to any lenity on that score."

I wonder much at this "*most certainly.*"

"The terms she may not think safe and proper to grant the Irish, she may judge full as dangerous and imprudent to grant the Americans."

It is very imprudent to deprive America of any of her privileges. If her commerce and friendship are of any importance to you, they are to be had on no other terms, than leaving her in the full enjoyment of her rights.

"Long before we could send among them any considerable number of forces, they might do a great deal of mischief, if not actually overturn ~~an~~ order and government."

They will take care to preserve order and government for their own sakes.

"Several other reasons might be offered, why the same measures, in regard to both nations, might not be altogether alike convenient and advisable."

Where you cannot so conveniently use force, there you should endeavour to secure affection.

OBSERVATIONS
ON
PASSAGES IN A PAMPHLET,
ENTITLED
“THE TRUE CONSTITUTIONAL MEANS
• FOR
PUTTING AN END TO THE DISPUTES
BETWEEN
GREAT BRITAIN AND THE AMERICAN COLONIES.
LONDON, 1769.”

“EVERY British subject must acknowledge, that the directive influence of the British state remains with the British legislature, who are the only proper judges of what concerns the general welfare of the whole empire.”

The British state is only the Island of Great Britain; the British legislature are undoubtedly the only proper judges of what concerns the welfare of that state; but the Irish legislature are the proper judges of what concerns the Irish state, and the American legislatures of what concerns the American states respectively. By “the whole empire” does this writer mean all the King’s dominions? If so, the British Parliaments should also govern the Isles of Jersey and Guernsey, and Hanover; but this is not so.

"But the land tax, which I have proposed, is in its very nature unoppressive, and is equally well suited to the poorest as to the richest province of the British empire."

This writer seems ignorant, that every colony has its own civil and military establishment to provide for; new roads and bridges to make; churches and all public edifices to erect; and would he separately tax them, moreover, with a tax on lands equal to what is paid in Britain?

"The colonists must possess a luxuriant abundance to be able to double their inhabitants in so short a space."

How does this appear? Is not a mere competence sufficient for this purpose? If America will consent to pay thus its proportion of British taxes, will Britain pay out of the whole all the American taxes? Or is America to-pay both?

"The produce of the planters purchases for them what others buy with gold and silver; but even several of the colonists of the rank of good livers have often been seen to pay the price of a negro with gold. As instances of Virginian luxury, I have been assured, that there are few families there without some plate; and that at some entertainments the attendants have appeared almost as numerous as the guests."

Was not the gold first purchased by the produce of his land, obtained by hard labor? Does gold drop from the clouds in Virginia into the laps of the indolent? Their very purchasing plate and other superfluities from England is one means of disabling them from paying taxes to England. Would you have it both in meal and malt? It has been a great folly

in the Americans to entertain English gentlemen with a splendid hospitality ill suited to their circumstances ; by which they excited no other grateful sentiments in their guests, than that of a desire to tax the landlord.

“It cannot be deemed exorbitant, considering their traffic with the French sugar-islands, as well as with our own; and this will make the whole of their importations four millions per annum.”

This is arguing the riches of a people from their extravagance ; the very thing that keeps them poor.

“The inhabitants of Great Britain pay above thirteen millions sterling every year, including turnpikes and the poor’s rates, two articles which the colonists are exempt from.”

A turnpike tax is no burthen, as the turnpike gives more benefit than it takes. And ought the rich in Britain, who have made such numbers of poor by engrossing all the small divisions of land, and who keep the laborers and working people poor by limiting their wages, — ought those gentry to complain of the burthen of maintaining the poor that have worked for them at unreasonably low rates all their lives? As well might the planter complain of his being obliged to maintain his poor negroes, when they grow old, are sick, or lame, and unable to provide for themselves.

“For though all pay by the same law, yet none can be required to pay beyond his ability ; and the fund from whence the tax is raised, is, in the colonies that are least inhabited, just as able to bear the burthen imposed, as in the most populous county of Great Britain.”

The colonies are almost always considered by these ignorant, flimsy writers, as unwilling to contribute to the general exigencies of the state; which is not not true. They are always willing, but will have the granting of their own money themselves;—in which they are right for various reasons.

“They would be content to take land from us gratuitously.”

What land have they ever taken from you? The lands did not belong to the Crown, but to the Indians, of whom the colonists either purchased them at their own expense, or conquered them without assistance from Britain. The engagement to settle the American lands, and the expense of settlement, are more than equivalent for what was of no value to Britain without a first settlement.

“The rental of the lands in Great Britain and Ireland amounts to about twenty-two millions; but the rental of the same extent of lands in America is not probably one million sterling.”

What signifies extent of unsettled lands, that produce nothing?

“I beg to know if the returns of any traffic on earth ever produced so many per cent., as the returns of agriculture in a fertile soil and favorable climate.”

How little this politician knows of agriculture! Is there any county where ten bushels of grain are generally got in for one sown? And are all the charges and advances for labor to be nothing? No farmer of America in fact makes five per cent. of his money. His profit is only being paid for his own labor, and

that of his children. The opulence of one English or Dutch merchant would make the opulence of a hundred American farmers.

“It may, I think, be safely concluded, that the riches of the colonists would not increase so fast, were the inhabitants to leave off enlarging their settlements and plantations, and run eagerly upon manufactures.”

There is no necessity of leaving their plantations; they can manufacture in their families at spare times. Depend upon it, the Americans are not so impolitic, as to neglect settlements for unprofitable manufactures; but some manufactures may be more advantageous to some persons, than the cultivation of land, and these will prosecute such manufactures notwithstanding your oratory.

WALPOLE'S GRANT.*

May 10th, 1766. I like the project of a colony in the Illinois country, and will forward it to my utmost here.

August 25th, 1766. I can now only add, that I will endeavour to accomplish all that you and our friends desire relating to the settlement westward.

September 12th, 1766. I have just received Sir William's open letter to Secretary Conway, recom-

* Some time after Dr. Franklin went to England on his second mission, as agent for Pennsylvania, a project was formed in America, originating with Sir William Johnson, Governor Franklin, and others, for settling a new colony in the Ohio country. They wrote to Dr. Franklin, requesting him to use his influence to procure a grant from the Crown for this purpose. A company was formed, at the head of which was Mr. Thomas Walpole, a banker in London, and hence the tract of land solicited by them went under the name of *Walpole's Grant*.

The above extracts are from letters written by Dr. Franklin to his son on this subject. The copy, from which they are printed, was found among Sir William Johnson's papers. It has been surmised, from vague expressions in Franklin's published correspondence, that this was some private affair, in which he was seeking the interest of himself and his son. These extracts will

mending your plan for a colony in the Illinois, which I am glad of. I have closed and sent it to him. He is not now in that department; but it will of course go to Lord Shelburne, whose good opinion of it I have reason to hope for; and I think Mr. Conway was rather against distant posts and settlements in America. We have, however, suffered a loss in Lord Dartmouth, who I know was inclined to a grant there in favor of the soldiery, and Lord Hillsborough is said to be terribly afraid of dispeopling Ireland. General Lyman has been long here soliciting such a grant, and will readily join the interest he has made with ours, and I should wish for a body of Connecticut settlers, rather than all from our frontiers. I purpose waiting on Lord Shelburne on Tuesday, and hope to be able

show such a suspicion to be perfectly groundless. The truth is, he had no more concern in it, than any other proprietor. The grant was to be divided into seventy-two shares, owned by a large number of persons. The petitions were made publicly to the Board of Trade, and to the King in Council, by Mr. Walpole and his associates. The project encountered much opposition, and met with delay; but it was finally approved, and the grant ratified about the year 1772. The revolutionary troubles, then coming on, defeated the execution of the plan.

In the progress of soliciting the grant, Lord Hillsborough wrote for the Board of Trade a Report against it. Dr. Franklin's answer to this Report is one of the ablest efforts of his pen.

In the year 1754, Dr. Franklin had drawn up a plan for settling two colonies on the Ohio; and two years afterwards a petition was presented by Governor Pownall to the Duke of Cumberland for such a purpose. See *Franklin's Works*, Vol. IV, p. 31.

to send you his sentiments by Falconer, who is to sail about the twentieth.

A good deal, I imagine, will depend on the account, when it arrives, of Mr. Croghan's negotiation in that country. This is an affair I shall seriously set about, but there are such continual changes here, that it is very discouraging to all applications to be made to the ministry. I thought the last set well established, but they are broken and gone. The present set are hardly thought to stand very firm, and God only knows whom we are to have next.

The plan is I think well drawn, and I imagine Sir William's approbation will go a great way in recommending it, as he is much relied on in all affairs, that may have any relation to the Indians. Lord Adam Gordon is not in town, but I shall take the first opportunity of conferring with him. I thank the Company for their willingness to take me in, and one or two others that I may nominate. I have not yet concluded whom to propose it to; but I suppose our friend Sargent should be one. I wish you had allowed me to name more, as there will be in the proposed country, by my reckoning, near sixty-three millions of acres, and therefore enough to content a great number of reasonable people, and by numbers we might increase the weight of interest here. But perhaps we shall do without.

September 27th, 1766. I have mentioned the Illinois affair to Lord Shelburne. His Lordship had read

your plan for establishing a colony there, recommended by Sir William Johnson, and said it appeared to him a reasonable scheme, but he found it did not quadrate with the sentiments of people here ; * that their objections to it were, the distance, which would make it of little use to this country, as the expense on the carriage of goods would oblige the people to manufacture for themselves ; that it would for the same reason be difficult both to defend it and to govern it ; that it might lay the foundation of a power in the heart of America, which in time might be troublesome to the other colonies, and prejudicial to our government over them ; and that people were wanted both here and in the already settled colonies, so that none could be spared for a new colony. These arguments, he said, did not appear to him of much weight, and I endeavoured by others to invalidate them entirely. But his Lordship did not declare whether he would or would not promote the undertaking ; and we are to talk further upon it.

I communicated to him two letters of Mr. Croghan's, with his journal, and one or two of yours on that subject, which he said he would read and consider ; and I left with him one of Evans's maps of the middle colonies, in the small-scale part of which I had marked with a wash of red ink the whole coun-

* I fancy, but am not certain, that his Lordship meant Lord Hillsborough, who, I am told, is not favorable to new settlements.

try included in your boundaries. His Lordship remarked, that this would coincide with General Lyman's project, and that they might be united.

September 30th, 1766. I have just had a visit from General Lyman, and a good deal of conversation on the Illinois scheme. He tells me, that Mr. Morgan, who is under-secretary of the Southern department, is much pleased with it; and we are to go together to talk to him concerning it.

October 11th, 1766. I was again with Lord Shelburne a few days since, and said a good deal to him on the affair of the Illinois settlement. He was pleased to say he really approved of it; but intimated that every new proposed expense for America would meet with great difficulty here, the treasury being alarmed and astonished at the growing charges there, and the heavy accounts and drafts continually brought in from thence. That Major Farmer, for instance, had lately drawn for no less than thirty thousand pounds extraordinary charges, on his going to take possession of the Illinois; and that the superintendents, particularly the southern one, began also to draw very largely. He spoke, however, very handsomely of Sir William on many accounts.

November 8th, 1766. Mr. Jackson is now come to town. The ministry have asked his opinion and advice on your plan of a colony in the Illinois, and he has just sent me to peruse his answer in writing, in which he warmly recommends it, and enforces it by

strong reasons ; which gives me great pleasure, as it corroborates what I have been saying on the same topic, and from him appears less to be suspected of some American bias.

February 14th, 1767. Great changes being expected keeps men's minds in suspense, and obstructs public affairs of every kind. It is therefore not to be wondered at, that so little progress is made in our American schemes of the Illinois grant, and retribution for Indian losses.

June 13th, 1767. The Illinois affair goes forward but slowly. Lord Shelburne told me again last week, that he highly approved of it, but others were not of his sentiments, particularly the Board of Trade. Lyman is almost out of patience, and now talks of carrying out his settlers without leave.

August 28th, 1767. Last week I dined at Lord Shelburne's, and had a long conversation with him and Mr. Conway (there being no other company) on the subject of reducing American expenses. They have it in contemplation to return the management of Indian affairs into the hands of the several provinces, on which the nations border, that the colonies may bear the charge of treaties, and the like, which they think will then be managed more frugally, the treasury being tired with the immense drafts of the superintendents.

I took the opportunity of urging it as one mode of saving expense in supporting the out-posts, that a set-

tlement should be made in the Illinois country, expatiated on the various advantages, namely, furnishing provisions cheaper to the garrisons, securing the country, retaining the trade, raising a strength there, which, on occasions of a future war, might easily be poured down the Mississippi upon the lower country, and into the bay of Mexico, to be used against Cuba, the French islands, or Mexico itself. I mentioned your plan, its being approved by Sir William Johnson, and the readiness and ability of the gentlemen concerned to carry the settlement into execution, with very little expense to government. The secretaries appeared finally to be fully convinced, and there remained no obstacle but the Board of Trade, which was to be brought over privately, before the matter should be referred to them officially. In case of laying aside the superintendents, a provision was thought of for Sir William Johnson. He will be made governor of the new colony.

October 9th, 1767. I returned last night from Paris, and just now hear that the Illinois settlement is approved of in the Cabinet Council, so far as to be referred to the Board of Trade for their opinion, who are to consider it next week.

November 13th, 1767. Since my return, the affair of the Illinois settlement has been renewed. The King in Council referred the proposal to the Board of Trade, who called for the opinion of the merchants on two points, namely, whether the settlement of colonies in

the Illinois country and at Detroit might not contribute to promote and extend the commerce of Great Britain ; and whether the regulation of Indian trade might not best be left to the several colonies that carry on such trade ; both which questions they considered at a meeting where Mr. Jackson and I were present, and answered in the affirmative unanimously, delivering their report accordingly to the Board. We shall know in a few days what report the Board will make to the King in Council. Enclosed I send you the notice I received from the Board to attend the first call with the merchants. You must know, government here is quite tired of having the management of Indian affairs, the superintendents drawing for such immense sums to be given in presents to the Indians ; who, nevertheless, they say, are not kept in so good temper as when every colony managed the neighbouring Indians, and put the Crown to no expense. It seems therefore the present inclination to drop the superintendencies, and provide for Sir William in some other way ; but whether they will finally resolve on this, is rather uncertain ; for they seem afraid of changing any thing in settled measures, lest something should go wrong, and the opposition make an advantage of it against them. The merchants, to a man, disliked the plan of regulating the trade under the superintendents, and speak strongly against it. The plan I think I have seen in your hands, as proposed by the Board of Trade.

November 25th, 1767. As soon as I received Mr. Galloway's, Mr. Samuel Wharton's, and Mr. Croghan's letters on the subject of the *boundary*, I communicated them to Lord Shelburne. He invited me the next day to dine with him. Lord Clare was to have been there, but did not come. There was nobody but Mr. Maclean. My Lord knew nothing of the boundary's having ever been agreed on by Sir William; had sent the letters to the Board of Trade, directing search to be made there for Sir William's letters; and ordered Mr. Maclean to search the Secretary's office, who found nothing. We had much discourse about it, and I pressed the importance of despatching orders immediately to Sir William to complete the affair. His Lordship asked who was to make the purchase, that is, who should be at the expense. I said, that if the line included any lands within the grants of the charter colonies, they should pay the purchase money of such proportion. If any within the proprietary grants, they should pay their proportion. But what was within royal governments, where the King granted the lands, the Crown should pay for that proportion. His Lordship was pleased to say he thought this reasonable. He finally desired me to go to Lord Clare as from him, and urge the business there, which I undertook to do.

Among other things at this conversation, we talked of the new settlements. His Lordship told me he had himself drawn up a paper of reasons for those settle-

ments, which he laid before the King in Council; acquainting them, that he did not offer them merely as his own sentiments; they were what he had collected from General Amherst, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Jackson, three gentlemen that were allowed to be the best authorities for any thing that related to America. I think he added, that the Council seemed to approve of the design; I know it was referred to the Board of Trade, who I believe have not yet reported on it, and I doubt will report against it.

I waited next morning on Lord Clare, and pressed the matter of the *boundary* closely upon him. He said they could not find, that they had ever received any letters from Sir William concerning it, but were searching farther; agreed to the necessity of settling it, but thought there would be some difficulty about who should pay the purchase-money; for that this country was already so loaded, it would bear no more. We then talked of the *new colonies*. I found he was inclined to think one near the mouth of the Ohio might be of use in securing the country; but did not much approve that at Detroit. And as to the trade, he imagined it would be of little consequence if we had it all, but supposed our traders would sell the peltry chiefly to the French and Spaniards at New Orleans, as he heard they had hitherto done. Pray tell me, if you know whether that has been the case, with regard to the skins belonging to our friends B. W. & M.

March 13th, 1768. The purpose of settling the new colonies seems at present to be dropt, the change of American administration not appearing favorable to it. There seems rather to be an inclination to abandon the posts in the back country, as more expensive than useful. But counsels are so continually fluctuating here, that nothing can be depended on. The new Secretary, Lord H., is, I find, of opinion, that the troops should be placed, the chief part of them, in Canada and Florida, only three batalions to be quartered in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; and that Forts Pitt, Niagara, Oswego, &c. should be left to the colonies to garrison and keep up, if they think it necessary for the protection of their trade. Probably his opinion may be followed, if new changes do not produce other ideas. The letters from Sir William Johnson, relating to the boundary, were at last found, and orders were sent over about Christmas, for completing the purchase and settlement of the difference about it. My Lord H. has promised me to send duplicates by this packet, and urge the speedy execution, as I represented to him the danger that these dissatisfactions of the Indians might produce a war.

THE CRAVEN-STREET GAZETTE.

Saturday, September 22, 1770.

This morning Queen Margaret, accompanied by her first maid of honor, Miss Franklin, set out for Rochester. Immediately on their departure, the whole street was in tears—from a heavy shower of rain. It is whispered, that the new family administration, which took place on her Majesty's departure, promises, like all other new administrations, to govern much better than the old one.

We hear, that the great person (so called from his enormous size), of a certain family in a certain street, is grievously affected at the late changes, and could hardly be comforted this morning, though the new ministry promised him a roasted shoulder of mutton and potatoes for his dinner.

It is said, that the same great person intended to pay his respects to another great personage this day, at St. James's, it being coronation-day; hoping thereby a little to amuse his grief; but was prevented by an accident, Queen Margaret, or her maid of honor, hav-

ing carried off the key of the drawers, so that the lady of the bedchamber could not come at a laced shirt for his Highness. Great clamors were made on this occasion against her Majesty.

Other accounts say, that the shirts were afterwards found, though too late, in another place. And some suspect, that the wanting a shirt from those drawers was only a ministerial pretence to excuse picking the locks, that the new administration might have every thing at command.

We hear, that the lady chamberlain of the household went to market this morning by her own self, gave the butcher whatever he asked for the mutton, and had no dispute with the potato-woman, to their great amazement at the change of times.

It is confidently asserted, that this afternoon, the weather being wet, the great person a little chilly, and nobody at home to find fault with the expense of fuel, he was indulged with a fire in his chamber. It seems the design is, to make him contented by degrees with the absence of the Queen.

A project has been under consideration of government, to take the opportunity of her Majesty's absence for doing a thing she was always averse to, namely, fixing a new lock on the street door, or getting a key made to the old one ; it being found extremely inconvenient, that one or other of the great officers of state should, whenever the maid goes out for a ha'penny worth of sand, or a pint of porter, be obliged to attend the door

to let her in again. But opinions being divided, which of the two expedients to adopt, the project is for the present laid aside.


We have good authority to assure our readers, that a Cabinet Council was held this afternoon at tea ; the subject of which was a proposal for the reformation of manners, and a more strict observation of the Lord's day. The result was a unanimous resolution, that no meat should be dressed to-morrow ; whereby the cook and the first minister will both be at liberty to go to church, the one having nothing to do, and the other no roast to rule. It seems the cold shoulder of mutton, and the apple-pie, were thought sufficient for Sunday's dinner. All pious people applaud this measure, and it is thought the new ministry will soon become popular.

We hear that Mr. Wilkes was at a certain house in Craven Street this day, and inquired after the absent Queen. His good lady and the children are well.

The report, that Mr. Wilkes, the patriot, made the above visit, is without foundation, it being his brother, the courtier.

Sunday, September 23.

It is now found by sad experience, that good resolutions are easier made than executed. Notwithstanding yesterday's solemn order of Council, nobody went to church to-day. It seems the great person's broad-



built bulk lay so long abed, that the breakfast was not over till it was too late to dress. At least this is the excuse. In fine, it seems a vain thing to hope reformation from the example of our great folks.

The cook and the minister, however, both took advantage of the order so far, as to save themselves all trouble, and the clause of cold dinner was enforced, though the going to church was dispensed with ; just as common working folks observe the commandment. *The seventh day thou shalt rest*, they think a sacred injunction ; but the other *six days thou shalt labor* is deemed a mere piece of advice, which they may practise when they want bread and are out of credit at the ale-house, and may neglect whenever they have money in their pockets.

It must, nevertheless, be said, in justice to our court, that whatever inclination they had to gaming, no cards were brought out to-day. Lord and Lady Hewson walked after dinner to Kensington, to pay their duty to the Dowager, and Dr. Fatsides made four hundred and sixty-nine turns in his dining-room, as the exact distance of a visit to the lovely Lady Barwell, whom he did not find at home ; so there was no struggle for and against a kiss, and he sat down to dream in the easy-chair, that he had it without any trouble.

Monday, September 24th.

We are credibly informed, that the great person dined this day with the Club at the Cat and Bagpipes

in the City, on cold round of boiled beef. This, it seems, he was under some necessity of doing (though he rather dislikes beef), because truly the ministers were to be all abroad somewhere to dine on hot roast venison. It is thought, that, if the Queen had been at home, he would not have been so slighted. And though he shows outwardly no marks of dissatisfaction, it is suspected, that he begins to wish for her Majesty's return.

It is currently reported, that poor Nanny had nothing for dinner in the kitchen, for herself and puss, but the scrapings of the bones of Saturday's mutton.

This evening there was high play at Craven-Street House. The great person lost money. It is supposed the ministers, as is usually supposed of all ministers, shared the emoluments among them.

Tuesday, September 25th.

This morning the good Lord Hutton called at Craven-Street House, and inquired very respectfully and affectionately concerning the welfare of the Queen. He then imparted to the big man a piece of intelligence important to them both, which he had just received from Lady Hawkesworth, namely, that their amiable and excellent companion, Miss Dorothea Blount, had made a vow to marry absolutely him of the two, whose wife should first depart this life. It is impossible to express with words the various agitations of mind appearing in both their faces on this

occasion ; *vanity* at the preference given them over the rest of mankind ; *affection* for their present wives ; *fear* of losing them ; *hope* (if they must lose them) to obtain the proposed comfort ; *jealousy* of each other, in case both wives should die together, — all working at the same time, jumbled their features into inexplicable confusion. They parted, at length, with professions and outward appearances of ever-during friendship ; but it was shrewdly suspected, that each of them wished health and long life to the other's wife ; and that however long either of these friends might like to live himself, the other would be very well pleased to survive him.

It is remarked, that the skies have wept every day in Craven Street the absence of the Queen.

The public may be assured, that this morning a certain great person was asked very complaisantly by the mistress of the household, if he would choose to have the blade-bone of Saturday's mutton, that had been kept for his dinner to-day, *broiled* or *cold*. He answered gravely, *If there is any flesh on it, it may be broiled ; if not, it may as well be cold*. Orders were accordingly given for broiling it. But when it came to table, there was indeed so very little flesh, or rather none at all (puss having dined on it yesterday after Nanny), that, if our new administration had been as good economists as they would be thought, the expense of broiling might well have been saved to the public, and carried to the sinking fund. It is assured

the great person bears all with infinite patience. But the nation is astonished at the insolent presumption, that dares treat so much mildness in so cruel a manner.

A terrible accident *had like to have happened* this afternoon at tea. The boiler was set too near the end of the little square table. The first min mistress was sitting at one end of the table to administer the tea ; the great person was about to sit down at the other end, where the boiler stood. By a sudden motion, the lady gave the table a tilt. Had it gone over, the great person must have been scalded ; perhaps to death. Various are the surmises and observations on this occasion. The godly say, it would have been a just judgment on him for preventing, by his laziness, the family's going to church last Sunday. The opposition do not stick to insinuate, that there was a design to scald him, prevented only by his quick catching the table. The friends of the ministry give out, that he carelessly jogged the table himself, and would have been inevitably scalded, had not the min mistress saved him. It is hard for the public to come at the truth in these cases.

At six o'clock this afternoon, news came by the post, that her Majesty arrived safely at Rochester on Saturday night. The bells immediately rang—for candles to illuminate the parlour ; the court went into cribbage ; and the evening concluded with every demonstration of joy.

It is reported, that all the principal officers of state have received an invitation from the Duchess Dowager of Rochester, to go down thither on Saturday next. But it is not yet known whether the great affairs they have on their hands will permit them to make this excursion.

We hear, that, from the time of her Majesty's leaving Craven-Street House to this day, no care is taken to file the newspapers; but they lie about in every room, in every window, and on every chair, just where the Doctor lays them when he has read them. It is impossible government can long go on in such hands.

“ To the Publisher of the Craven-Street Gazette.

“ SIR,

“ I make no doubt of the truth of what the papers tell us, that a certain great person has been half-starved on the bare blade-bone *of a sheep* (I cannot call it *mutton*, because none was on it), by a set of the most careless, blundering, foolish, crafty, and knavish ministers, that ever got into a house, and pretended to govern a family and provide a dinner. Alas, for the poor old England of Craven Street! If these nefarious wretches continue in power another week, the nation will be ruined; undone, totally undone, if the Queen does not return, or (which is better) turn them all out, and appoint me and my friends to succeed them. I am a great admirer of your use-

ful and impartial paper, and therefore request you will insert this, without fail, from

“ Your humble servant,

“ INDIGNATION.”

“ *To the Publisher of the Craven-Street Gazette.*

“ SIR,

“ Your correspondent, ‘ *Indignation*,’ has made a fine story in your paper against our excellent Craven-Street ministry, as if they meant to starve his Highness, giving him only a bare blade-bone for his dinner, while they riot upon roast venison. The wickedness of writers in this age is truly amazing. I believe we never had, since the foundation of our state, a more faithful, upright, worthy, careful, considerate, incorrupt, discreet, wise, prudent, and beneficent ministry, than the present. But if even the angel Gabriel would condescend to be our minister, and provide our dinners, he could scarcely escape newspaper defamation from a gang of hungry, ever-restless, discontented, and malicious scribblers.

“ It is, Sir, a piece of justice you owe our righteous administration to undeceive the public on this occasion, by assuring them of the fact, which is, that there was provided, and actually smoking on the table under his royal nose at the same instant, as fine a piece of ribs of beef roasted, as ever knife was put into ; with potatoes, horse-radish, pickled walnuts, &c. ; which beef his Highness might have eaten of, if he had

pleased so to do ; and which he forbore to do, merely from a whimsical opinion (with respect be it spoken), that beef doth not with him perspire well. This is the truth ; and if your boasted impartiality is real, you will not hesitate a moment to insert this letter in your very next paper.

“ I am, though a little angry with you at present,

“ Yours, as you behave,

“ A HATER OF SCANDAL.”

Junius and *Cinna* came to hand too late for this day's paper, but shall have place in our next.

MARRIAGES. None since our last ; but puss begins to go a courting.

DEATHS. In the back closet and elsewhere, many poor mice.

STOCKS. Biscuit—very low. Buckwheat and Indian meal—both sour. Tea lowering daily—in the canister.

Wednesday, September 26th. Postscript.—Those in the secret of affairs do not scruple to assert roundly, that the present first mistress proves very notable, having this day been at market, bought excellent mutton-chops, and apples four a penny, made a very fine apple-pie with her own hands, and mended two pair of breeches.

END.

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